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THE CASTLE IN 1643.

H. H. N. B. delt.

THE

STORY OF CORFE CASTLE,

AND OF MANY WHO HAVE LIVED THERE.

COLLECTED FROM

ANCIENT CHRONICLES AND RECORDS; ALSO FROM THE PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF A FAMILY RESIDENT THERE IN THE TIME OF THE CIVIL WARS:

WHICH INCLUDE VARIOUS PARTICULARS OF

THE COURT OF CHARLES THE FIRST, WHEN HELD AT YORK AND AFTERWARDS AT OXFORD.

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BY THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE BANKES,

M.P. FOR THE COUNTY OF DORSET.

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TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL DIGBY,

LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTY OF DORSET,

&c. &c. &c.

My dear Lord,

I obtain a new proof of the kind friendship which your Lordship has so constantly permitted me to enjoy, when I am allowed to place at the head of these pages a name so long and so honourably associated with the interests of the county of Dorset.

The materials herein contained have been collected at the suggestion of inhabitants of this county, moving in various conditions of life, united for an honourable and useful purpose, which they have thought that this publication might tend to promote.

I venture to express in their name, and in my own, our warm and respectful regard for those upright and estimable qualities universally acknowledged in your Lordship, by which the highest station in our county is at this time so happily adorned. And with every wish for your continued welfare,

I remain, my dear Lord,
Most truly and sincerely,
Your Lordship's very faithful servant,

George Bankes.

TO THE

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

ESTABLISHED FOR PURPOSES OF MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT

IN THE BOROUGH AND NEIGHBOURHOOD OF

CORFE CASTLE.

My very good Friends,

You have desired that I should be named Patron of the Society established by yourselves for purposes of mutual improvement; and as I am well aware that the humblest who are industrious in their callings can always teach something, and that the highest in attainments have much to learn, I am sensible of the advantages which may be derived from institutions such as these.

A wish has been expressed to the effect, that subjects for a lecture should be selected by me, which may be made use of at some suitable opportunity; and I have here put together as materials for such a purpose, historical facts relating to persons who, at various periods of the English history, have inhabited or have possessed the Castle which gives its name to the district in which you live.

You will find, amongst the incidents here touched upon, some very ancient in their dates, which you have before heard of and have perhaps forgotten; others, which relate to more recent events, are derived from private letters now published for the first time, and in part from publications which have become scarce, and are to be found in few modern libraries.

These refer especially to a period of our history wherein this neighbourhood was much concerned, and the interest of which will never pass away.

I remain ever, my good friends,

Your very faithful servant,

George Bankes.

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Seal of Corfe Castle.

THE

STORY OF CORFE CASTLE.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE CASTLE IN THE TIME OF THE ANGLO-SAXON MONARCHY, UNTIL THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

THERE is reason for concluding that a castle existed at Corfe in the reign of King Alfred. A presumption to this effect arises from the undoubted fact that he was founder of the Abbey of Shaftesbury, with which religious endowment this castle was constantly connected in the periods of our early history. Ethelgiva, daughter of King Alfred, was the first Abbess of Shaftesbury, and to her and her successors, high rights and privileges were granted connected with Corfe Castle and the surrounding domain.

Alfred had little leisure for the enjoyments of a palace. This structure, which afterwards became so large as to vie with the noblest royal habitations in the kingdom, consisted in his time, probably, of only a single strong tower on the summit of the hill, constituting one of the defences of Wareham, which in Saxon times was a very principal town and port, against the depredations of the Danish and other pagan nations.

We read that in the year 875 Alfred, having made agreement with the Danes, and a partition which assigned

to them a large portion of the northern provinces of the kingdom, thought himself happy in the preservation of his paternal dominion, and flattered himself with the enjoyment of some repose; but in the beginning of the spring of this year, Halfden, a Danish general, with a very considerable force took by surprise Wareham Castle, then the strongest place in all Wessex. The English hitherto seemed not to know what sort of enemies they had to deal with, and their ignorance was most injurious to them.

They considered the Danish irruptions as a regular war, wherein the whole invading nation was concerned. Accordingly they imagined that a treaty concluded with one band or party was obligatory on all the rest. But the Danes proceeded on a totally different principle. They entered with the consent of their kings into private associations to man out fleets and go shares in what booty they could get in England and other countries. For this reason the several bands were independent of one another, each thinking himself bound by no other treaty but what they entered into themselves. Alfred had made an agreement with Hubba, but Halfden did not look upon himself as included in it. However, the English, considering the surprise of Wareham as a real treachery, called heaven and earth to witness the violation of the treaty.

Alfred, finding it was in vain to conclude treaties with such perfidious people, resolved to take more effectual means to secure himself from their deceits. To this purpose he convened a general assembly, and in a pathetic speech plainly showed them they had nothing to

trust to but their valour and courage, to deliver them from their miseries; that upon so urgent an occasion there was a necessity of venturing their lives in defence of their country, and of sacrificing part of their estates to preserve the rest; in fine, that a generous resolution was the only means of averting calamities which would come in turn to every man's hearth. These remonstrances having produced the effect he expected, an army was levied, with which he engaged the enemy seven times in one campaign. Fortune was not equally favourable to him in all these engagements, but the king succeeded in rendering their residence at Wareham so little commodious to them, that in the year 877 the army of pagans quitted Wareham, partly on horseback and partly by water. The naval portion proceeded no farther than Swanage: they were there attacked by ships provided by Alfred; and a furious storm coming on during the engagement, one hundred and twenty of their ships were driven on the rocks off Peveril Point, and the portion of the army contained in them was entirely destroyed. The other portion of the army was pursued by Alfred as far as Exeter: weakened as they were, terms of accommodation were readily acceded to by them, and this band of depredators gave hostages that they would depart the kingdom. To effect a security against their return at some future time was the object of a fortress at Corfe (Corffe's Gate it was then called), a break in the lofty range of the Purbeck hills occurring at this spot, through which two small streams or rivers pursue their course to the sea, which is not far distant.

It was Alfred, who induced the English to build their

houses for the future in a stronger and more regular manner than they had been used to. ' At that time there were scarce any but timber houses; it was a rarity to see a house built with other materials. Alfred having raised his palaces with stone or brick, the nobility by degrees began to follow his example: but this custom did not become general till several ages after. Alfred took particular care to have always about him the most noted workmen and architects, and kept them constantly employed, with the view of improving their skill. The capacity of the English as builders had been recognised in the time of the Romans: they were sent for on this account in large numbers, and introduced on the Continent, where, when placed under able instructors, they were considered the best masons in the world.

Whatever may have been the size or construction of this castle in the days of King Alfred, it was greatly extended and embellished in the century next following, under the direction of the magnificent King Edgar. This splendid monarch procured from Italy workmen to instruct and aid the native artisans: it is thus that the peculiarities observable in some portion of this structure, and the perfection of its masonry are accounted for.

With the queen of the last named Saxon monarch commences, what is important in the history of this castle. Edgar, who died in the thirty-third year of his age, bequeathed this to her as a dowry mansion, and in this princely residence, which her royal husband had with so much cost and care prepared for her, she plotted and accomplished the murder of his son.

Edward the Martyr was the issue of Edgar's first mar-

riage: he was only fifteen years of age when his father died. His step-mother, Queen Elfrida, vainly endeavoured to oppose his succession to the throne. Edward reigned four years, and was greatly beloved by his subjects, having earned their affection by the amiable innocence of his manners. As his own intentions were always pure, he was incapable of entertaining any suspicion against others: thus though his step-mother had opposed his succession, and had raised a party in favour of her own son, he always showed her marks of the greatest regard, and expressed on all occasions the most tender affection towards his brother. In the month of March in the year 978, this unfortunate prince was hunting in a large wood near Wareham: towards evening, when the chase was ended, recollecting that his brother was living hard by, he resolved to make him a visit at the castle, where he resided with his royal mother. The attendants of the king had been dispersed in the chase; he was alone; and Elfrida having notice of this favourable opportunity, came forth in a most affable and friendly manner, inviting him to alight from his horse. This he declined, and remained at the gate, expressing his desire to see his brother. The queen then called for wine, which he had scarce put to his lips when one of her attendants, who had given the king the kiss of peace, stabbed him in the back. Some of the ancient chroniclers affirm, that Elfrida herself gave him both the kiss and the mortal wound whilst he was drinking.

Finding himself wounded, the king rode away; but fainting with loss of blood, his foot entangled in the stirrup, and he was dragged a considerable distance until the

horse stopped of his own accord at a bridge which crosses the small river that flows at the foot of the hill on which this castle stands. The servant sent by Elfrida to know the issue of her treachery found the murdered prince dead, terribly defaced with the flints over which he had been dragged. The queen, to conceal the fact, ordered his body to be lodged in a house near, where it was covered with such mean clothes as were at hand. In this house lived a woman who was born blind, and maintained by the queen's alms: at midnight she found her sight restored, and to her great terror the house filled with light. In the morning the queen being informed of these circumstances, fearing a discovery, ordered her attendants to throw the body into a well. She then retired to a mansion of hers called Bere, ten miles distant. Her own son Ethelred expressing his grief for the inhuman act of his mother, she beat him so severely with some large wax tapers, for want of something else at hand, that he hated the sight of them ever afterwards. In the year following, the body of the murdered king was found: a pillar of fire descending from above illuminated the place where it was hid. Some devout people of Wareham brought it to the church of St. Mary in that vill, and buried it in a plain manner. From this time the fountain where the body had lain yielded pure and sweet water, being called St. Edward's Fountain, and infirm people were daily healed there. The news of these transactions being circulated, Alfer, Earl of Mercia, a faithful adherent to the deceased king, resolved to remove the body to a more suitable place of sepulture. Inviting all bishops, abbots, and nobility to assist him, he sent to

Wolfrida, abbess of Wilton, to come with her nuns and perform the funeral rites with due solemnity. The noble company thus convened, being joined by a great number of the country people, came to Wareham, where the body, on being taken out of the tomb in which it had lain three years, was found as free from corruption as on the day when it was placed there: it was carried on a bier to Shaftesbury. Among the concourse of people were two poor lame persons, who were cured on approaching the bier. Elfrida, struck with remorse, prepared to join this noble funeral procession, hoping thus to make some atonement for her crime; but her utmost efforts could not prevent the horse she rode from running backwards. She tried several horses, being an intrepid lady; but not one of them would advance a step; she then attempted to go on foot, but with no better success. The royal corpse was received at Shaftesbury by the Abbess, and entombed at the north part of the principal altar.

The manner of this king's death, and the affection of the monks, whom he had much favoured, gained him the surname of Martyr. He was canonized by the Church of Rome, three festivals in every year being appointed to be kept as holy in respect of his memory—March 18, the day of his murder; February 18, and June 20, the days on which the removals of his corpse had been effected.

In order to expiate this murder and other crimes of which she was conscious, Elfrida had recourse to the general remedy of that age for an uneasy conscience, founding and endowing richly two nunneries, one at Amesbury in Wiltshire, the other at Whorwel in Hampshire, in which last she took the habit and spent the remaining

part of her life in great penitence, austerity, and superstitious dread.

> "Nought 's had, all 's spent,
> Where our desire is got without content:
> 'T is better to be that which we destroy,
> Than by destruction dwell in doubtful joy."
>
> *Lady Macbeth.*

The murder of the good King Duncan occurred in the century next following that in which Elfrida so fatally figured.

It may seem as if ordained by fate, that no crime, however strange in circumstance and atrocious in degree, can long stand alone and without parallel in history. Who that saw the once proud and beautiful queen Elfrida walking a penitent, with a taper in her hand, could have believed that such another woman would ever be found, to contrive such another treachery, in her own castle, upon a confiding guest, and that guest her king? We are told that

> "Happiness was born a twin,"

and some future bard may suggest that Wickedness was born an elder sister.

This atrocious murder proved in its consequences to be the death-blow of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, just after it had been raised by King Edgar to a high degree of renown, and he had obtained for himself the title of the Honour and Delight of the English nation. He was also surnamed Edgar the Peaceable, being so well prepared for war, that neither his own subjects nor other nations dared to disturb the tranquillity of his dominions. His attention to maritime affairs was the chief glory of his reign, and his fleet was at once so powerful and so well conducted, that it effectually secured the coasts from all

aggression. He retained also a permanent military force, composed of Danes, nor does it appear that any jealousy arose from this circumstance amongst the masses of his Anglo-Saxon subjects. In the higher ranks it is true that some uneasiness was felt, for we are told by the ancient chronicles, that these martial Danes introduced as courtly fashions, the habit of combing their hair once a day, washing themselves once a week, and frequently changing their vestments—manners which, though censured as effeminate by the Anglo-Saxon nobles, met with the decided approval of their wives and daughters, the gay beauties of King Edgar's court.

When the crown of England, in consequence of the assassination of young Edward, devolved on a boy who was barely seven years of age, and when she who aspired to be his governor and the regent of his kingdom, was blasted in character, and powerless from loss of reputation, a period ensued which is justly considered as the most calamitous in English history.

The piratical Danes, who for more than half a century had given the English very little disturbance, began again to cast their rapacious eye on this country. When Ethelred grew up to manhood, he was found to possess no one quality that was suitable to the high position to which his mother's guilt had raised him. As the brother of a king, he might have performed courtly functions with honour and fidelity. There does not appear to have been any predominant corrupt passion in his nature, but he was cowardly and sluggish, and he lived at a period when activity and bravery were essential to the existence of the people who owned his sway. The

surname of the Unready applied to everything he undertook, or ought to have undertaken. When he designed to oppose the landing of the Danes, they were in the heart of a county before he had brought his forces to the coast; and when he resorted to the fatal plan of promising large bribes for their departure, he found, on the day fixed for payment, that he was unprovided with money, and the rage and ravages of the invaders broke out with redoubled fury. The houses, monasteries, and churches that were built on the old principle with timber, were now destroyed by fire throughout all the south-western counties. Corfe Castle could set at defiance every attempt of the Danish force; but with the exception of the few places that were so fortified, all parts of Dorsetshire fell under the Danish rule.

In the year 1002 the disgraceful tribute of Danegeld was fixed upon the nation, and the whole kingdom stood in such fear of the Danish power that the appellation of *Lord Danes* was given to them throughout the land.

Irritated by the indignity of the tax, and of their slavish position, Ethelred found his subjects willing to concur with him in the infamous project of a general massacre of all the Danes then resident in England. This was carried into effect in one day, with wonderful secrecy of preparation, and the slaughter included the sister of Sweyn, who was married to an English noble. Revenge for this atrocity was not far distant. Sweyn in the next year landing in Cornwall marched to Exeter and entirely destroyed that city, putting all the inhabitants to the sword. No misfortune which can befal a nation was now spared to the English. A grievous

famine which occurred in 1005 was considered a blessing by those who had any means of procuring food, because it had the effect of driving the Danes back, for a time, to their native country: but with the first appearance of returning prosperity in England, the Danes came to resume their lordly demands; and in 1014, Ethelred having fled with his family to Normandy, Sweyn was acknowledged king of England. Sweyn died in the same year, whether from poison or from what other cause is uncertain, and the fugitive Ethelred was with difficulty induced to return to his throne. This he occupied through two more years of misery and contest, finishing his ignoble reign in the year 1016. The brave Edmund, his eldest son, was immediately crowned in London, but the gallantry of his spirit and all the noble qualities of his nature were in vain. The curse of bloodshed seemed to rest upon his house; his reign did not continue for a year; he was murdered by the contrivance of a traitor, one of his family, before the close of the year 1017.

Edmund left two sons, neither of whom succeeded to the throne. The line of his descendants, excluded first by Danish usurpation and afterwards by the Normans, was restored to the crown after the lapse of six hundred years; but it was restored in that fated royal line, of whose destiny this ruined castle stands the monument—as it was the victim.

Before we quit the period of Anglo-Saxon history, a remark offers itself illustrative of the domestic manners of the time, arising from an incident mentioned above, in the fearful history of Queen Elfrida. She corrected

her son, as we have observed, with wax candles, having no other instrument of punishment near at hand. Juvenile readers in particular may have some curiosity on the subject, and wish to be informed what sort of wax candles these were. A drawing-room wax candle could hardly inflict such a blow, as to induce the subject of correction to remember it during the whole remainder of his life, and a chapel candle, even the daring spirit of Elfrida would not have ventured to apply to such a purpose. We must remember that one of the noble institutions of King Alfred being then, and long afterwards, in force, the lapse of time was measured by the gradual consumption of wax candles, and Elfrida, in fact, corrected her son with the castle clock—a weapon of no small weight and magnitude.

Alfred (we are told by the learned Spelman) measured time by means of wax candles marked by circular lines of divers colours, which served as so many hour lines. These candles were committed by him to the keepers of his chapel, whose office it was to put him in mind how each hour passed. Glass was then a great rarity in England, so that the king for the defending of these lights was obliged to have recourse to white horn scraped very thin. Thus it was that the royal Alfred became inventor at once both of clocks and lanterns. Ethelred the Unready would probably have hated clocks under any circumstances, for he very naturally discountenanced every expedient which promoted an accurate computation of time.

During the various revolutions which ensued upon the suppression of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty, Corfe Castle

followed the fortunes of the English crown, and was held from the time of the Norman Conquest, as a royal castle, by some great baron of the victorious race. When Stephen usurped the crown, December 22, 1136, it became at once evident that a serious civil war would ensue, and that the strong castles throughout the kingdom would exercise a great influence in deciding the issue of the quarrel. The beginning of the reign was peaceable, but this tranquillity lasted not long. The subjects, grown insolent, set too high a value on the service they had done the king. There were some also who, being forced to comply with the sentiments of the majority, were waiting for an opportunity to take away the reproach the nation lay under, for the breach of the oath solemnly given in favour of Matilda, the daughter of the late king. Stephen, who was not ignorant how matters stood, did all he could to gain the affections of all ranks in the state. With this view it was that he conferred titles and honours on several persons, and alienated abundance of the crown lands to such as might be serviceable to him. But this lavish bounty had not the effect he proposed. Those that partook of his favours considered them as their due reward, whilst others who received them not, entertained a jealousy which proved most injurious to his cause. His greatest oversight was suffering the barons, the wealthy clergy also, to fortify their castles, which put it in their power to revolt whenever they pleased. The bishops, earls, and barons at this time coined their own money in their castles, and exercised therein every right of sovereignty, extending to complete despotism.

Stephen at last found himself under the necessity of besieging some of the castles. The castle at Devizes he took: he also forced the castle of Wareham to surrender; but he was baffled in an attack upon Corfe Castle, which was a fortress of such strength, that until the invention of gunpowder, it could be taken by no other means than by treachery of the garrison.

The destructive civil war had now raged so long, and with so much violence, that the strength of both parties was almost exhausted. "All England (to use the words of a contemporary historian) wore a face of misery and desolation. Multitudes abandoned their beloved country, and went into voluntary exile; others, forsaking their own houses, built wretched huts in the churchyards, hoping for protection from the sacredness of the place; whole families, after sustaining life as long as they could by eating herbs, roots, and the flesh of dogs and horses, at last died of hunger; and you might see many pleasant villages without a single inhabitant of either sex."

In the year 1153 a close was at last put to these fearful national calamities by the treaty of peace, under which it was stipulated that Stephen should continue to reign during life, and Prince Henry, son of Matilda, should be his successor. It was made a primary condition of this treaty that all the castles built on both sides since the death of Henry I., amounting, it is said, to the number of eleven hundred and fifteen, should be demolished. This condition did not affect Corfe Castle, which had stood out against the power of the usurper, and proudly acknowledged the authority of Henry Planta-

genet, when he, without opposition from any competitor, was called to the throne, after the death of Stephen, in the year 1154.

During the eventful reign of the tyrannical John, Corfe Castle became again a Royal residence; that king deposited within its walls his treasure and regalia, using it also for the confinement of state prisoners, the objects of his jealousy and revenge. In the year 1202 he took prisoners at the castle of Mirabel in Poitou the youthful Arthur Duke of Brittany, his nephew, and at the same time captured many barons, and above two hundred knights of Poitou and Guienne who were in arms with that prince. These were all loaded with irons, and sent to different prisons in Normandy and England. Many of these prisoners were so cruelly treated that they perished in their confinement; and no fewer than twenty-two of the noblest and bravest of them were starved to death in Corfe Castle.

When these cruel transactions were published to the world, John became the object of general execration. Prince Arthur was murdered at the instigation, or perhaps by the hand, of his inhuman uncle; and the barons of Brittany accused him of this crime before the King of France, of whom he held all his continental territories: on his not appearing to answer to that charge, he was found guilty of treason and felony, and all his dominions forfeited. He made little or no resistance at that time to the execution of this sentence; but after indulging in great festivity at Rouen, when the enemy approached he abandoned the continent and embarked for England.

In the year 1205 King John feigned a resolution to

attempt the recovery of his foreign territories, and under this pretence summoned all his barons and other military tenants to meet him at Portsmouth on Whit-Sunday. After much delay and frivolous conduct on his part, he at last embarked with a small retinue and put to sea, on which he continued for two days out of sight of land, then returned and landed at Studland, thence proceeded to Corfe Castle, and making proclamation to the effect that he had been on a foreign expedition, he fined all his military tenants for their non-attendance, and thus added a further accumulation to his ill-gotten treasure.

In the year 1213, on the 15th of May, John resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter, and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his successors, doing homage to Pandolf, as the Pope's legate, with all the humiliating forms which the feudal law required from vassals towards their liege lord and superior. One Peter of Pomfret, a hermit, had foretold that the king in this very year should lose his crown, and for that rash prophecy he had been thrown into prison in Corfe Castle. John now determined to bring him to punishment as an impostor; and though the hermit pleaded that, far from being an imposition, his prophecy was literally fulfilled, the defence was considered an aggravation of the guilt; he was dragged at horses' tails to the town of Wareham, through the streets there, and back again to a gibbet erected within sight of the Castle walls, where he was hanged together with his son.

In 1215, on Friday, June 19, Magna Charta was granted by King John, and no sooner was the grant

made than the king became sullen, melancholy, and dejected; he retired with a very few of his courtiers to the Isle of Wight, forming schemes for the recovery of prerogatives which he had relinquished; and with this view he dispatched orders to the commanders of all the royal castles to repair their fortifications and furnish them with provisions.

The next year was the last of his wretched life. He was now in perpetual motion, not knowing whither to go nor whom to trust. He therefore carefully avoided fighting, and incessantly marched from place to place to break the measures of his enemies. He thought himself safest in the county of Norfolk, where he chose the town of Lynn to secure his treasures, including his crown and sceptre. This town had expressed for him such affection and loyalty, that as a mark of his gratitude he granted it great privileges, presenting to the first mayor his own sword, which is said to be still preserved there. However, fearing his treasures were not safe even in this his favourite town, he resolved to remove them into Lincolnshire. Endeavouring to effect this removal he very narrowly escaped drowning with his whole army, in the large Marsh or Wash which parts the two counties of Lincoln and Norfolk. He had himself barely effected the crossing, together with a portion of his forces, when the tide coming rapidly up the river Well-stream, the Marsh was overflowed, and his baggage containing the treasure, also the remainder of his troops and attendants, were swallowed up by the waters. He arrived that night at Swineshead Abbey, where he lodged. His vexation for this loss threw him into a violent fever,

which he aggravated by eating largely of peaches. On the morrow he was carried on a litter to Seaford Castle, and thence next day to Newark. Some will have it that he was poisoned by a monk of Swineshead Abbey, and Shakspeare has adopted this tradition; but the contemporary historians have not attributed his end to such a cause, nor is it asserted by any one who wrote within sixty years of that time. The stories of his being poisoned are also various in their particulars; the one attributes the king's death to the poison extracted from a toad put into a cup of wine, the other to a dish of poisoned pears, of which the monk who presented them ate three, which were not poisoned, leaving all the rest for the use of the king.

At the time of the death of King John, the Earl of Pembroke was Mareschal of England. From the beginning of the late king's reign he had always remained attached to the service of that prince; he was a man eminently wise, brave, and honest, capable of projecting and of executing the greatest designs. The existing condition of his country required the energies of such a man; the whole of it torn by civil discord, and a large portion actually in the hands of a foreign power.

As soon as John resigned his last breath, the Earl of Pembroke assembled the lords who had been firm to the royal cause, and, presenting to them Prince Henry, then in the tenth year of his age, exclaimed, "Behold our king!"

This assembly then unanimously chose the Earl of Pembroke guardian of the king, and declared him protector of the kingdom. The earl immediately provided

for the coronation of the prince by the title of Henry the Third. This ceremony was performed in the city of Gloucester. A portion of the regalia was still at Corfe Castle: being left there, it had escaped the fate of the remainder of the late king's treasure. On the demand of the new Protector, Peter de Maulay, Constable of the Castle, delivered these for the king's use at the coronation. The crown here found was a plain circle or chaplet of gold, probably a Saxon crown. This was placed on Henry's head at Gloucester: at a later period of his reign he had a second coronation, celebrated in Westminster Abbey. Corfe Castle was now delivered to the Protector; and an escutcheon, still to be seen on one of the towers, is said to bear his armorial device. The Princess Eleanora, called the Maid of Brittany, was found prisoner in this castle, where she had passed many sad years in the custody of her tyrant uncle. Within these walls there were also found, besides jewels and other articles of value, large stores of military engines, which John had provided for the purpose of enforcing the subjugation of the barons, and the revocation of Magna Charta.

The Protector succeeded in effecting the expulsion of the French, who had so unhappily been called in to take part in the intestine commotions of the state; and by the prudence and equity of his conduct he reconciled the contending factions. He had adopted measures for recovering and securing possession of all the Royal castles, but unhappily for the kingdom he died in the first year of the new reign.

Never was there a greater national loss than that of

this brave and good man. It does credit to the time in which he lived that the lamentation was universal throughout the realm, and his memory was revered and equally cherished by the various hostile parties who met in fierce contention through the remainder of this long and turbulent reign. To the young king this loss was irreparable.

The most obvious circumstance, says Hume, speaking of the character of Henry the Third, was his incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his own ministers and favourites as when detained a captive in the hands of his enemies. About nine years after the death of the Protector, Peter de Maulay resumed possession forcibly of Corfe Castle; and in such high consideration was this castle held by Simon de Montfort and the powerful barons who adhered to him, that it was the third which they demanded to be ceded to them when they exacted royal castles as pledges for the future good conduct of the king.

It appears that Corfe Castle was put into a state of complete repair at the expense of the crown in the reign of Edward II. Whether that king enjoyed this place of residence as a palace we are not informed; but it became his prison when, by command of Mortimer and Queen Isabella, he was taken out of the honourable custody of Henry of Lancaster, and confided to the keeping of those two brutal men, Sir John Maltravers and Sir John Gournay (blemishes of knighthood, as the old chronicles call them). These two ungracious villains, with their attendants, had commission at any time to enter into any castle or fortress within the kingdom, and there to

abide during their pleasure, commanding all within the place. By them, therefore, he is soon removed from Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire, where he had passed the previous winter under the wardship of the Earl of Lancaster, his cousin; and now he is hurried about in the night from one place to another, that no one might know certainly of his abode. First they brought him with all secrecy imaginable to the Castle of Corfe in Dorsetshire; thence awhile after to Bristol Castle, where they kept him privately in hardship and fear enough, till, it being scented by some of the chief citizens, out of a due commiseration of his undeserved troubles, and a just sense of the duty they owed him, they secretly combined to deliver him from these his inhuman keepers, and so to convey him to some place of safety beyond the seas. But his hard destiny permitted this counsel to take wind, insomuch that on the very night when his deliverance was to be effected, these, his inhuman keepers, removed him from Bristol and conveyed him to Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire. And here they showed the baseness and barbarity of their minds, by inhumanly insulting over that majesty in adversity, which lately by all men was honoured next to adoration. They made him ride on an ill-favoured beast, very meanly clad, who of late was lord of a great kingdom; and still they took by-ways, crossing the country, lest he should be met by any and rescued. Nor did the insolent indignities they put upon him end here; for having a mind by-and-bye to cut off the hair of his head and his beard, that he might be more disguised from the knowledge of any they should chance to meet, they made him alight at a cer-

tain ditch in their way, whence an insolent barber fetched them cold and dirty water in an old rusty helmet, as he sat on a mole-hill to be trimmed, the king meekly saying, "Whether you allow it or no, I will have warm water for my beard," and therewith let fall a shower of warm tears. This story was attested by William Bishop, one of the accomplices, who was present at the doing thereof, and afterwards heartily repented that ever he had a hand in so wicked a concern. And thus at last they brought him to Berkeley Castle, where, finding that poison would not affect his body, nor mental torture conclude his life, they with barbarous violence destroyed him, pretending that he died a natural death. His body was exposed to public view; and wise men could not but observe by the colour of his face that his death was not without many violent strugglings. He was buried without any funeral pomp by the Benedictine monks, in their Abbey of St. Peter in Gloucester.

Historians have expressed themselves very obscurely (says Rapin) with regard to this period of the English history; and those who recollect how wretched were the circumstances of the early days of the brilliant reign of King Edward III., can find no difficulty in explaining the mystery which seems to envelope the records of that date. The cruel position in which he was placed when a boy, in the hands of an infamous mother, may palliate the atrocious crimes into which he was compelled; but he must always, even in the brightest days of his triumphant glory, have shuddered when he called to recollection the dark dawn of his splendid career.

Of all the mysterious transactions of that day, none

will appear more extraordinary than that of which Corfe Castle was the scene. The Earl of Kent, brother to Edward II., had no great genius for public affairs, but was naturally sincere and generous. He had suffered himself to be deceived by the artifices of Queen Isabella, and joined her against his own brother, never imagining she would have carried matters so far: when once engaged in the rebellious party, the suddenness of the revolution would not permit him to recede. The disorderly behaviour of that queen, the insolence of Mortimer, and general ill-conduct of public affairs, which clouded the new reign, now brought a deep conviction to his mind of repentance for the course he had taken. Too generous to conceal his feelings, Isabella and Mortimer resolved on his destruction, and in order to accomplish this they prepared for him a most extraordinary snare. It is probable that they found rumours already rife through the kingdom, to the effect that Edward II. was not dead; and whether they first originated or only cultivated these reports, an opinion to that intent did prevail for a long season.

Two persons, pretended friends, came to the Earl of Kent, and informed him that his brother, Edward II., was still prisoner in Corfe Castle, strictly guarded, and suffered to be seen by none but his domestics, who were guarded with him. This pretended secret was confirmed by the testimony of several persons of distinction, including two bishops. The Earl of Kent had himself assisted at the private funeral of the king his brother, but he had not seen the body, and might have been deceived in the obsequies; he determined to release

him if he were still alive. About this time (says Stow) the Queen Isabella, who bore an inveterate hatred against Edmund Plantagenet, Earl of Kent, one of the king's uncles, chiefly for the Earl of Marche's sake, to whose unreasonable pride the noble prince's courage scorned to yield, began earnestly to inform the king her son against him, as guilty of matters into which the subtle Mortimer had craftily ensnared the open-hearted gentleman.

But lest it should be admired how any man should now be accused of endeavouring to deliver the old king, who had been murdered almost two years before, I will exactly set down by what arts this innocent gentleman was trained on to his utter ruin.

Mortimer and his complotters, with a design to make his enemies obnoxious to him (which he could no other way do, they were men of such known integrity and loyalty), cunningly scatter it abroad that the old king, Edward II., was still alive, notwithstanding the late rumours of his death and burial, and that he now resided in the castle of Corfe in Dorsetshire, but was not to be seen in the day-time by any means, and only with much difficulty in the night, for fear he should hasten his own death thereby. Now to carry on this incredible tale the better (for these were cautious and discreet men whom Mortimer aimed to catch), there were several knights appointed to make shows and masks and other diversions upon the battlements and roofs of the castle, which the country people observing, could not but imagine some great prince or king to be there, for whose pleasure and honour these solemnities

were so performed. Hence the rumour of the old king being alive was spread far and near, so that at last it came, as was first designed, with some kind of authority, to the Earl of Kent's ears, who, desiring only, as he thought, to sift the truth out, entangled himself more strongly in an error. To the castle of Corfe he privily sent one of his confidants, a preaching fryer, with a charge to dive into the matter. He at last, under much caution, with a great to do, obtaining to be admitted into the castle, was even then under pretended fear kept close all the day in the porter's lodge; but at night, being for more security disguised in lay habit, he was brought into the great hall, where he beheld one clothed in royal habiliments to personate a king, so that the fryer himself, either deceived by the glimmering of the lamps, or the distance which he was forced to keep, or the strength of prejudice working upon his fancy, did really take him for the father of the young king, as he sat with seeming majesty and princely attendants at a royal supper.

This account the fryer brought back to the Earl of Kent, and whether himself also corrupted, or really in mind persuaded, did as really persuade the unfortunate prince that he had seen the king, his brother, alive and well, and at supper with his own eyes: whereupon the earl declared with oath, that he would make use of all the means and interest he could to rescue the king his brother from that unworthy confinement. Now when first this rumour began to go abroad with some authority, Earl Edmund, having some occasion at the Court of Rome, held a discourse at Avignon with Pope John XXII., and, having conferred on other matters, after-

wards desired counsel of his holiness touching a matter relating to Edward of Caernavon his brother, late king of England, since it was a common fame through England that he was alive, whole, and sound. When the Pope heard him say that Edward II. was alive, he commanded the earl upon his blessing to help with all the power that he might to deliver him out of prison and to save his body to the utmost of his ability, in order to which he assoyled him and all his partakers with plenary absolution, and promised to bear the charges of the whole undertaking, threatening him also with excommunication if he did not make use of his best endeavours to assert his brother's right and liberty. Soon after Earl Edmund returned into England, where he set himself about discovering, as he thought, the truth more fully; and then sent to Corfe Castle that same preaching fryer of whom we spake. At this time another fryer, named Dunhead, discoursing with Earl Edmund at Kensington, near London, told him he had conjured up a spirit, which assured him that Edward his brother, late king of England, was yet living. The Earl of Kent being thus by Mortimer's cunning induced to a belief that the late king was still living, and in Corfe Castle, he went himself to the said castle, and spake with the constable thereof, Sir John Daverill, and after many rich presents desired secretly to know of him whether his brother, the late king, was yet alive or dead; and if he were alive, that he might have a sight of him. Now this Sir John Daverill, being Mortimer's creature, answered, that indeed his brother was in health and under his keeping; but that he durst not show him to

any man living, since he was forbid, in behalf of the king that now was, and also of the queen mother and of Mortimer, to show his person to any one whatsoever, except only unto them.

Earl Edmund was so far deceived by the constable's protestations, that he delivered to him a letter, desiring him to bear it to his brother, which he promised to do, but soon after carried it to Mortimer, sealed with the Earl's seal. It began thus:—"To the noble knight, Edward of Caernarvon, Edmund of Woodstock, worship and reverence with brotherly allegiance and subjection: Sir knight, worshipfull and dear brother; if it please you, I pray heartily that you be of good comfort, for I shall so ordain for you that you shall soon come out of prison, and be delivered of that trouble which you are in; and may your highness understand that I have unto me assenting almost all the great men of England, with all their apparel, that is to say, with armour and treasure exceeding much, for to maintain and help your quarrel so far forth that you shall be king again as you were before; and thereto they have all sworn to me upon a book, as well prelates as earls and barons."

This letter was immediately carried by Mortimer to the queen, who showed it to the king her son, magnifying his danger from his uncle's practices. It was not difficult for her to obtain the king's leave to secure the prince's person; and as soon as he had given his assent, the Earl of Kent was apprehended at Winchester, where the Parliament was then assembled. His impeachment being brought before the peers, his own letter was produced, and he could not disown it.

Several lords, and particularly the Archbishop of York and Bishop of London, were concerned with him, as he said, in the plot, and that they had assured him of five thousand men to assist in it.

He was condemned to lose his head as guilty of high treason; and the king, by permitting this execution, had now the death of his uncle, as well as of his father, on his conscience. The Earl of Kent was brought upon the scaffold on the 9th of March, in the year 1329. But there was no executioner to be found; he who had been engaged for that horrid office went secretly away, and from noon till evening no one could be found to perform it, so much was the Earl beloved. At last towards night, a condemned criminal, on promise of his own life being spared, came to the scaffold and beheaded the unfortunate prince.

He died in the twenty-eighth year of his age, leaving two sons, neither of whom long survived, and two daughters, the youngest of whom was afterwards the most celebrated beauty of her day, when the empire of beauty was well understood in this country. She was called the beautiful Countess of Kent, and married for her second husband her cousin, Edward the Black Prince.

If a public condemnation and execution, the records of which exist, had not taken place, it would have been difficult to find credit for this very singular story of the Earl of Kent.

In the reign of Richard II., who was son of the beautiful Countess of Kent, Corfe Castle was possessed by Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, and Alicia his wife, near relatives of the king. They appear to have held this

possession unmolested through the troubles which closed that reign. Henry IV., after their deaths, made a grant of this royal property to the Earl of Somerset, the head of the house of Beaufort, in whose family it continued until the reign of Henry VI. The war of the Roses did not reach the walls of this castle; but the owner was involved, and at last overwhelmed in the ruin of the Lancastrian party.

The title of duke was now borne by the head of this family; and when Queen Margaret, wife of Henry VI., landed at Weymouth on the 14th of April, 1471, the Duke of Somerset joined her party and took the command; her son who accompanied her, Edward Prince of Wales, then 18 years of age, being nominally the leader of the forces. On the very day of the queen's landing the terrible battle of Barnet was fought, in which the famous Earl of Warwick, and his brother the Marquis of Montacute, with ten thousand men, numbering the slain on both sides, perished. The loss of those two warriors was to the Lancastrian party irreparable. The queen swooned when the news reached her, and would have retired again to France, or at any rate would have sent her son there for safety; but the Duke of Somerset persuaded her to the contrary. She took refuge at Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire, where the Earls of Pembroke and Devonshire, with Lord Wenlock and John Beaufort, brother of the Duke of Somerset, came to her aid. It is remarkable with what expedition armies were in those days raised. On the 27th of April, thirteen days after the battle of Barnet, the Lancastrian lords had reassembled a considerable army out of the counties of

Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, Devon, and Cornwall. They marched to Gloucester and thence to Tewkesbury, where the battle was fought which sealed the fate of Queen Margaret's party. She became a prisoner in the Tower, and her son was barbarously murdered. This battle was fought on the 4th of May: two days afterwards Beaufort Duke of Somerset, with others that were made prisoners, were publicly beheaded in the market-place at Tewkesbury. The duke's forfeited estates, including the castle and royal domains of Corfe, were now granted to the king's brother, George Duke of Clarence. But he held them for no long period, being attainted by the Parliament at Westminster in January, 1478, and committed to the Tower, where he was drowned in a butt of malmsey, February the 18th. The castle now again reverted to the crown.

When the tyrant Richard was deposed and killed, and the rival roses were united on the throne of Henry VII., this king immediately prepared Corfe Castle as a suitable habitation for the residence of his mother, the Countess of Richmond and Derby. His political obligations to her were no less strong than the ties of natural affection. She had presided over his early education; and remaining in England when he was driven into exile, she watched over his fortunes, and gave him notice from time to time of danger which impended over him. On one occasion Henry, then Earl of Richmond, had intended to conduct his invasion by landing within sight of this castle, in Poole harbour. He entered the port, but retired in consequence of intelligence that was conveyed to him. He would have perished if he had at

that time made the attempt, for the army which the Duke of Buckingham had raised to join with the invading forces was destroyed, and the Duke himself was taken and executed at Salisbury, in which city his body was discovered a few years since.

The Countess of Richmond had early ties of attachment to the county of Dorset. The first years of her life were passed at Kingston Lacy, near Wimborne, which then belonged to her parents, the Duke and Duchess of Somerset. To their memory she erected a noble monument, which is yet to be seen in the minster of that town. A still nobler memorial she also planted there—a school which, though it bears the name of Queen Elizabeth, was built and endowed by this Lady Margaret, earlier by three generations.

In the time of Henry VII. the age of defensive castles had passed away—the necessity had ceased, it might have been hoped, for ever; and a style of decorative architecture was then introduced which encouraged the lavish expenditure of the great and the rich, so pleasing to the observation of the politic king, who received in his coffers large supplies from the various channels of profusion now opening throughout his kingdom.

He applied no Tudor decorations to this castle, but preserved, when he gave the necessary reparations, the noble character of this pile in all its Saxon strength and Norman grandeur. The Countess of Richmond outlived the king, her son, by one year; and at her death the possession, reverting to the crown, became the property of King Henry VIII.

Abbeys and monasteries, rather than castles, were now

the objects coveted by the great; and no courtier would desire to move so far from the seat where plunder was distributed as to the sea-girt Isle of Purbeck. Corfe therefore remained unappropriated by any favoured courtier throughout this reign. But when Henry died, and the proud Seymour Earl of Hertford became Protector, with the title of Duke of Somerset, in behalf of his nephew King Edward VI., his grasping hand closed upon this royal castle, as it did also upon so vast an amount of religious and other royal property throughout the land. His right of possession continued but few years: repeatedly assailed by political foes in the turbulent reign of that amiable prince for whom he governed, this Duke was brought to trial in December, 1552, and, though acquitted of treason, was found guilty of felony, and beheaded on Tower Hill in the month of January following. So the castle lapsed again to the crown.

A splendid inhabitant appeared in the days of Elizabeth, when the castle was granted in as full and ample a manner as the terms of law could devise, to her courtly favourite, Sir Christopher Hatton. He repaired and decorated this royal gift (which was given to him and to his heirs) with vast expense, suitable to the high station which some years afterwards he attained, being raised in the year 1587 to the post of Lord High Chancellor. At this the great lawyers of England took very great distaste, says Camden, for, ever since the ecclesiastical men were put aside from this preferment, lawyers had, with singular commendation for their equity and wisdom, borne this highest place of crowned dignity. But Hatton was ad-

vanced to it by the cunning court acts of some, intending that, by his absence from the court, and the troublesome discharge of so great a place, which they thought him not able to undergo, his favour with the queen might flag and grow less; yet executed he that place with the greatest state and splendour of any that ever we saw, and what he wanted in knowledge of the law he laboured to make good by equity and justice.

Now are we come, continues the same learned writer, to the year of Christ one thousand five hundred eighty and eight, which an astronomer of Koningsberg, above an hundred years before, foretold would be an admirable year. The rumours of wars, which before were but slight and small, began now to grow greater daily and greater; and now the reports were no longer uncertain, but the universal and unanimous belief of all men carried it for certain truth, that a most invincible armada was rigged and prepared in Spain against England, and that the famousest captains and expertest leaders and soldiers were sent out of Italy, Sicily, yea, and out of America, into Spain. Corfe was now again to become a fortress. The coasts of Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and the Isle of Wight were considered to be the first points of attack. Cannon were for the first time mounted in this castle; and the queen for encouragement gave a charter to the inhabitants of the castle and borough, which conferred upon them all the same rights and privileges as those enjoyed by the inhabitants and barons of the Cinque Ports, including the right of returning two members to Parliament. The armada did, in fact, pass within a short distance of the Dorsetshire coast, also of the

southern extremity of the Isle of Wight: but so far was it from terrifying those who dwelt there with its name of "Invincible," that the young gentry of England, with incredible cheerfulness and alacrity (leaving their parents, wives, children, cousins, and friends at home), out of their hearty love to their country, hired ships from all parts at their own private charges, and joined with the fleet in great numbers. William Hatton, a nephew of the Lord Chancellor, with many more of the highest rank, became efficient members of this yacht club, so gallantly and rapidly established.

In the year 1591 the health of Sir Christopher Hatton declined; he had ailments of the body, together with grief of mind, because the queen had somewhat rigorously exacted of him a great sum of money collected of tenths and first-fruits, whereof he had the charge; which he had hoped, in regard of the favour he was in with her, she would have forgiven him; neither could she, having once cast him down with a harsh word, raise him up again, though she visited and endeavoured to comfort him. Born he was of a family more ancient than wealthy in Northamptonshire. Being young, and of a comely tallness of body and amiable countenance, he got into such favour with the queen that she took him into her band of fifty Gentlemen Pensioners, and afterwards, for his modest sweetness of condition, into the number of the Gentlemen of her Privy Chamber; made him captain of her guard, Vice-Chamberlain, and one of her Privy Council; and lastly made him Lord Chancellor of England, and honoured him with the Order of Saint George. A man he was of a pious nature, a great re-

liever of the poor, of singular bounty and munificence to students and learned men (for which reason those of Oxford chose him Chancellor of their University), and one who, in the execution of that high and weighty office of Lord Chancellor, could satisfy his conscience in the constant integrity of his endeavours to do all with right and equity. His funeral was honourably performed at Paul's Church in London. Sir Christopher Hatton had lived unmarried; at his death this castle passed to his nephew, Sir William Hatton, who was the son of a sister of Sir Christopher. This knight, Sir William, left no children, and ultimately the property came to his widow, the Lady Elizabeth Hatton. She was daughter of Thomas Cecil Earl of Exeter, and became, by her second marriage, a second wife of the Lord Chief Justice Coke, to whose domestic happiness she by no means contributed. Her memoirs take their place in the many extraordinary private histories of the Court of James I.

CHAPTER II.

THE STORY OF THE CASTLE CONTINUED FROM THE TIME OF THE ACCESSION OF KING JAMES I. UNTIL THE TIME OF THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD, IN MAY, 1641.

WHEN preceding sovereigns had alienated this royal property, they had inserted, as a condition of their grant, a proviso for rights of the Crown, which secured to themselves or to their successors a reversion, under circumstances which were prescribed in the gift; but Elizabeth found it a more frugal and agreeable plan to enjoy the castles and fair mansions of her kingdom at the cost of her wealthy subjects rather than at her own. They were justly proud of the high privilege of receiving her. She had therefore no desire for the reversion of any such property to herself; and as to her successors, there was no subject, excepting always her own death, that she so heartily hated to hear touched upon. On one occasion, some few years before her death, "What is that dish before you, my Lord?" said the queen to Burghley, as he stood carving at the royal supper-table. "May it please your Majesty," said Burghley, "it is a coffin:" such being the name of a then newly-invented dish. "They be knaves and stupid fools," said the queen, "who call dishes by such names." The abashed Burghley, like Sterne's recording angel, dropped a tear on the item in the bill of fare, and blotted it out for ever.

The lady who now possessed this castle, the widow of Sir

William Hatton, was renowned for her beauty as well as for the large fortune of which she was possessed. Her first husband dying in the year 1597, she received proposals, within a very short time, from Francis Bacon, whose brilliant professional career was then very generally anticipated, his great talents and acquirements being well known, though his prospects had been thwarted by every method that it was in the power of his jealous rival, Sir Edward Coke, to resort to for effecting the continued depression of this

"Greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind."

Bacon is said to have implored the intercession of the powerful patron whom he so soon afterwards basely forsook, the Earl of Essex, to aid him in this his suit; but neither the lady herself, nor any of her relations the Cecils, were induced to give any countenance to this proposition; and it could be no matter for surprise that a young lady, endowed with great personal beauty and possessed of large revenues, including a splendid residence in the country, and the noble mansion erected by Sir Christopher Hatton in London, should entertain higher views than those which a barrister, as yet briefless, however rich in mental powers, could fulfil; but when the successful suitor was declared, astonishment pervaded the whole court, as well in regard of the choice that was made as of the circumstances under which it was accomplished.

On the 27th of June, in the year 1598, Sir Edward Coke had the misfortune to lose a beloved wife in the thirty-fourth year of her age. She had brought to him some considerable property, and died at the house which

was her own in the county of Suffolk, leaving to him several children. On the 24th of November in the same year, Sir Edward Coke, Attorney-General, in the evening, in a private house, without licence or banns, married the Lady Hatton in the presence of her father, who gave her away. Her father was now Lord Burghley, the treasurer Lord Burghley having died in the preceding month of August.

The means taken by the Attorney-General, who was old enough to have been her father, to secure this young beauty with her large possessions, are not easily to be surmised. His property, derived from professional practice, was, it is true, already enormously large; but what was that to her, already most amply provided for? She was perhaps, however, looking forward to another widowhood and another large jointure; and she certainly took means that seemed well calculated for effecting that end, revenging most amply Coke's outrage on the memory of the amiable lady, whose affection and good qualities he had so soon forgotten.

The very circumstances of his marriage were a commencement of his matrimonial troubles. His bride would only consent to a marriage under circumstances which were well known to be illegal, and of a nature which subjected the contracting parties to severe censure and punishment in the Ecclesiastical Courts. As to an appearance in church with such an elderly bridegroom, it was not to be mentioned to Lady Hatton; and the love of secrecy and mystery, which furnished a prominent point in her wayward character, forbade a resort either to banns or licence. This was at a moment when

the heads of the Church had become particularly vigilant in exacting those preliminaries, or one of them, as essential to marriage rites.

The consequence of the Attorney-General's irregular marriage was a citation from the Ecclesiastical Court, including also his bride, together with Lord Burghley his father-in-law, and the minister who performed the ceremony. The purport of this citation was to subject all these parties to a train of legal proceedings, which must terminate in a sentence of the greater excommunication.

Thus circumstanced, Mr. Attorney had no other course to pursue, than by a plea for mercy on the ground of total ignorance of the Ecclesiastical law, to avert the thunders which were issuing from that Court.

Thus commenced the honeymoon of this newly-married pair. The lady would not consent to take her husband's name, and still continued Lady Hatton; nor would she permit him to enter her fine house in Holborn publicly, and when he called there it must be at a back door. In truth he was glad to resort again to the old comforts of his chambers in the Temple, whilst she enjoyed the unceasing round of revelry of Ann of Denmark's pastimes.

Early in the reign of James I. Sir Edward Coke became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. His new wife had before this time presented him with a daughter, who, as she grew towards woman's estate, had a large share in the domestic history of Sir Edward Coke, and in the extraordinary annals of the court of the King and of his Danish consort.

From June, 1606, until October, 1613, Coke continued to preside in the Court of Common Pleas. At this last date he was promoted, infinitely to his displeasure, and appointed to the higher office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench. This office, though of superior rank, was at that time very much inferior in emolument to that which he had previously held.

Coke's seeming promotion was brought about by the contrivance of Bacon, now become Attorney-General, who gives in his writings this account having reference to the transaction:—"The Lord Coke, meeting with the king's attorney, said to him, 'Mr. Attorney, this is all your doing.—It is you that have made this stir.' Mr. Attorney answered, 'Ah, my Lord, your Lordship all this while hath grown in breadth; you must needs now grow in height, or else you would be a monster.'"

In the year 1616, Bacon, determining to take down something from the height of the rival he had so spitefully raised, procured that Coke should be summoned before the Privy Council to answer certain charges which should be preferred against him.

Of these, the first was another item in the long list of misfortunes arising from his ill-sorted marriage. He was charged with breach of duty, when he was Attorney-General, in concealing a bond given to the Crown by Sir Christopher Hatton. To this and all the other charges then brought against him, he gave answers which did not prevent his being suspended from the office of Chief Justice.

A few days subsequent to his examination before the Privy Council he was summoned again, and the Presi-

dent of that august tribunal, the Earl of Suffolk, pronounced this sentence :—

" Sir Edward Coke, I am commanded by his Majesty to inform you that his Majesty is by no means satisfied with your excuses; yet, out of regard to your former services, he is not disposed to deal with you heavily, and therefore he hath decreed—1st. That you be sequestered the Council Chamber until his Majesty's pleasure be further known. 2nd. That you forbear to ride your summer circuit as justice of assize. 3rd. That during the vacation, while you have time to live privately and dispose yourself at home, you take into consideration and review your book of Reports, wherein, as his Majesty is informed, be many extravagant and exorbitant opinions, set down and published for positive and good law. Amongst other things, the King is not well pleased with the title of the book, wherein you entitle yourself 'Lord Chief Justice of England,' whereas by law you can challenge no more than Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

" To conclude, I have yet another cause of complaint against you. His Majesty has been credibly informed that you have suffered your coachman to ride bareheaded before you, and his Majesty desires that this may be forborne in future."

The answer of the Chief Justice was expressed in these words:—" I submit myself humbly to his Majesty's pleasure; but this I beg your Lordships to take notice of, and to state to his Majesty from me, with all humility, that, if my coachman hath rode before me bareheaded, he did it at his own ease, and not by my order."

In all probability the order was my Lady Hatton's—forming another ingredient in the matrimonial cup of bitterness which he had so avariciously grasped at.

Earlier in the same year, a yet more signal disgrace had assailed him, arising from the same quarter.

Amongst other fashionable pursuits, Lady Hatton was much addicted to the study of necromancy, and the celebrated wizard, Forman, was said to be much in her confidence. Persons of both sexes, and of all ranks of life, resorted to him in large numbers, to consult his art in the marshes of Lambeth, where he dwelt. He adopted a rule which confined the list of his inquirers to those who had some degree of education; for in no case would he answer any questions unless the inquirers first wrote with their own hands their names at length in a book which he kept for this purpose, and thus, by means of these names, he had more than half of the greatest personages of the court in his power.

This book was produced in court at the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas Overbury, these infamous persons having consulted Forman on the subject of their horrible design, also with regard to their own ultimate fate. Sir Anthony Weldon, in his amusing Memoir, tells us "There was much mirth made in the court upon the showing this book, for it was reported the first leaf my Lord Coke lighted on he found his own wife's name!"

On the 16th of November in the same year, a *supersedeas* received the royal signature and passed the great seal, being in these words:—"For certain causes now moving us, we will that you shall be no longer our Chief

Justice to hold pleas before us, and we command you, that you no longer interfere in that office; and by virtue of this presence we at once remove and exonerate you from the same."

This fell like a thunderbolt on my Lord Coke, and he sank into a sad condition of dejection, accompanied by bitter tears and lamentation.

The terms of the decree of the Privy Council had signified to him that he would now have time privately to dispose of himself at home, but he had no home. A letter of this date, published in 'Nicholls' Royal Progresses,' says of Lord Coke, "Hitherto he bears himself well, but especially towards his lady, without any complaint of her demeanour towards him, though her own friends are grieved at it, and her father sent to him to know all the truth, and to show him how much he disallowed her courses, having divided herself from him, and disfurnished his house in Holborn and at Stoke of whatsoever was in them, and carried all the moveables and plate she could come by God knows where, and retiring herself into obscure places, both in town and country."

It is not improbable that Corfe Castle was at this time honoured by Lady Hatton's presence. She was extremely fond of such noble sports of the field as might be pursued in that wild country. Hawking especially was one of her great delights. The degradation of her husband she was however by no means pleased with, much as she despised him; and she now quarrelled with both the king and the queen for his sake. She had been on most intimate terms of friendship with the

queen, whose habits and inclinations were of a very similar character with her own; but Lady Hatton was now forbidden the court.

In the year 1617 the daughter of Sir Edward Coke and the Lady Hatton, called "the Lady Frances," became a source of new and aggravated disquiet to this ill-matched pair. Sir Edward Coke saw in this daughter a chance of success in regard to the first wish of his heart—the humiliation of his great rival Bacon, and his own reinstatement in dignity and power.

The Lady Frances was at this time only fourteen years old. She was a very rich heiress, her mother's large possessions being entailed upon her. She might expect also a share of the immense wealth accumulated by her laborious and avaricious father. This little girl had also the recommendation of extraordinary beauty, and had thus attracted the notice of the Duke of Buckingham's elder brother, Sir John Villiers, who was nearly thrice her age, and was exceedingly poor. Sir Edward Coke, while Chief Justice, had scorned the idea of such a match; but his sagacious mind now entertained the notion of supplanting his hated rival, the Lord Chancellor, making use of this young lady as his instrument.

The negociation is said to have been carried on by Winwood, the Secretary of State, who shared in Sir Edward Coke's detestation of Lord Bacon; and the great favourite's countenance and future protection were to be secured by giving this rich heiress and her fortune to his needy brother.

Sir Edward might not perhaps have known where to find his wife at the time when this contract was entered

into; but whether he might have known this or not, the contract was entered into, and all matters relating to it were arranged, without consulting either Lady Hatton or her daughter, who was thus to be given as the price of her father's restoration to power.

When the matter came at last to the knowledge of Lady Hatton, she broke forth into frantic passion, not so much because she disapproved of Sir John Villiers for her son-in-law, as that such an important arrangement had been made in the family without her previous knowledge and permission.

The recent obligations which she had in her own opinion conferred on Sir Edward by quarrelling with the king and queen for his sake, procuring also her own banishment from court, were not forgotten by her on this occasion; and when at last the fury of the storm had in some degree spent its power, and Sir Edward went to bed, Lady Hatton left him to enjoy his slumbers, and, stepping forth with her daughter into a coach which she had prepared, they travelled all night and arrived in the morning at Oatlands, which was then rented by a cousin of Lady Hatton's. For a time they lay concealed at that place; and Lady Hatton exerted all her influence to deter her daughter from the intended marriage, forging letters as from other persons, who she said aspired to her hand.

When the retreat of the fugitives was discovered, Sir Edward Coke applied to the Privy Council for a search-warrant. This he was not able to obtain; and could at last find no other expedient than to go himself at the head of an armed party, he himself being armed, to de-

mand the restitution of his child. Oatlands stood a siege on this occasion of some hours' continuance. At last an entry was effected through a window, and the Lady Frances, being seized, was forcibly carried away to Stoke Pogis, the dismantled mansion of Lady Hatton. There Sir Edward secured her in an upper chamber, himself keeping the key. The Lord Chancellor, who was now fully aware of Coke's plot, determined to counteract it by every means in his power. He strongly encouraged Lady Hatton in her resistance to the proposed match; and he wrote to his patron, the Duke of Buckingham, who was then with the king in Scotland, strenuously dissuading him from giving countenance to this proposition.

Before Bacon could receive a reply to this communication, such was his anxiety on the subject that he forthwith instructed Yelverton, the Attorney-General, to commence a prosecution against Sir Edward Coke for the riot at Oatlands, which was represented as amounting almost to a levying of war against the king in his realm.

At the same time Lady Hatton made another attempt to recover possession of her daughter by forcible means. She failed, however, and was imprisoned by procurement of her husband for this attempt. Bacon, when he received his reply from Scotland, was greatly alarmed by the discovery of the serious mistake which he had made, for the Duke of Buckingham, and therefore of course the king, censured highly his impertinent interference in this matter, the king very sagely observing to him, "Whereas you talk of the riot and violence committed

by Sir Edward Coke, we wonder you make no mention of the riot and violence of them that stole away his daughter, which was the first ground of all that noise."

Bacon forthwith stopped the proceedings in the Star Chamber against Sir Edward Coke, and directed that Lady Hatton should be kept in strict confinement. He declared himself warmly in favour of the marriage of the Lady Frances with Sir John Villiers; and by some means induced Lady Hatton, still a prisoner, to consent to it. She wrote to the king, intimating her intention of settling her lands on her daughter and Sir John Villiers, but declaring also the continuance of the most rancorous feelings against her husband.

On Michaelmas-day, in the year 1617, the marriage was celebrated at Hampton Court Palace, in the presence of the king and queen and all the chief nobility of England. Lady Hatton was still in confinement, and Sir Edward came therefore unmolested, bringing his daughter and friends so numerous as to fill nine coaches. The bridal banquet was most splendid; and a masque was performed in the evening, followed by all the usual nuptial ceremonials of that period.

Sir Edward Coke was now restored to the Privy Council, but he derived no other advantage from the sacrifice of his daughter. He had the mortification of seeing his rival Bacon re-established, by base servility, in the entire confidence both of the king and of the favourite; and what was yet worse, Lady Hatton, being now set at liberty, became the delight of the whole court, insomuch that the king and queen accepted a grand entertainment from her at Hatton House in Holborn, to which

her husband not only was not invited, but he and all his servants were expressly excluded from the mansion.

Sir John Villiers was, in June 1619, created Viscount Purbeck, in the county of Dorset, in right of his wife's expected property. Lady Hatton appears to have called Corfe Castle by the name of Purbeck Castle, and to have considered the whole of that island as her own.

A letter of the date of the 24th of May, 1619, published in 'Nicholls' Royal Progresses,' contains the following news from the court:—"On Wednesday is St. George's Feast, when there is like to be a great creation—I mean not of knights of the order, but hereditary titles. The Marquis of Hamilton shall be made Earl of Cambridge; Sir John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck (an island in Dorsetshire, where the best part of his wife's land lies, the whole island being hers), and shall have assured upon him, by my Lady Hatton and Sir Edward Coke, seven thousand pound land a-year; to induce the Lady Hatton whereunto, she shall be honoured with a title likewise—Countess of Westmoreland."

This last proposed arrangement did not take effect: my Lady Hatton was by no means inclined to part with any considerable portion of the property in her own lifetime. She had, moreover, been subjected to very heavy expenses in clearing the Corfe Castle and Purbeck estate from the debt to the Crown, incurred by Sir Christopher Hatton, which was charged upon this property. The amount of this incumbrance exceeded forty thousand pounds. Lady Hatton's usual rate of expenditure was also on a liberal scale at those periods when she did not court retirement. She had now emerged again into the

vortex of fashion; and at the summit of the fashionable empire, she with pride beheld the beautiful Viscountess her daughter.

The gaieties of the Court received a severe check from the death of the queen, aged forty-four, in the month of March, 1619. She was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 13th of May following; and amongst the infinitely long train of those who attended the funeral, walking on foot from Somerset House to the Abbey, was Lady Hatton. The dress fixed on for the mourners was of such pondérous weight that the ladies could with difficulty stand or move under it: each of them was therefore permitted to have two male supporters for the occasion. Denmark House, the late queen's residence, was now assigned to the Prince of Wales; but the little queen of fashion, Lady Purbeck, was permitted to have the care of it, and to reside there.

In a letter addressed to Sir Dudley Carlton, dated January 1, 1620, we find further mention of these ladies. "The Lady Elizabeth Hatton, upon what ground I know not, hath undertaken a task ever since before Christmas, to make a feast with dancing every Thursday night till Lent, wherein her standing guests, besides others, are the Earl of Warwick and his lady, the Viscount Purbeck and his lady, Mr. Treasurer, with his sons and daughters, who is commonly very jovial at such meetings."

In the year 1621 Ben Jonson produced his masque of 'The Metamorphosed Gipsies,' thrice presented to King James: first at Burghley on the Hill, August 3; next at Belvoir, August 5; and lastly at Windsor in

September, 1621. This masque was highly commended by the courtiers, the personal allusions with which it was interspersed, giving a peculiar interest to the delicacy and sweetness of poetry in which the female characters were depicted, and their personal charms extolled. The Second Gipsy thus exclaimed, when addressing the Lady Purbeck :—

" Help me, wonder; here 's a book,
Where I would for ever look;
Never yet did Gipsy trace
Smoother lines in hands or face ;
Venus here doth Saturn move,
That you should be Queen of Love,
And the other stars consent.
Only Cupid 's not content;
For, though you the theft disguise,
You have robb'd him of his eyes ;
And, to show his envy further,
Here he chargeth you with murther ;
Say, although that at your sight
He must all his torches light,—
Though your either cheek discloses
Mingled baths of milk and roses,—
Though your lips be banks of blisses
Where he plants and gathers kisses,—
And yourself the reason why
Wisest men for love may die,—
You will turn all hearts to tinder,
And shall make the world one cinder."

Fifth Gipsy to the Lady Elizabeth Hatton :—

" Mistress of a fairer table *
Hath no history nor fable;
Others' fortunes may be shown,
You are builder of your own.
And whatever Heaven hath gi'n you,
You preserve the state still in you;
That which time would have depart,—
Youth without the help of art,—
You do keep still, and the glory
Of your sex is but your story."

* Palm of the hand.

All this time the quarrel between Lady Elizabeth and her husband remained in full vigour; and persons of the highest quality ranged themselves on the one side or on the other, in the discussions of this family contest, which had already, in point of time, exceeded twice the duration of the Trojan war.

The Lord Houghton, formerly Sir John Hollis, was about this time committed for having, in conjunction with Lady Hatton, framed and published some scandalous libels against Sir Edward Coke. The marriage of Lord Purbeck and his lady, as it began with so much trouble and disturbance, became in its progress productive of much more disaster and distress, the lady being accused of too great familiarity with Sir Robert Howard, a son of the Earl of Suffolk, which served to exercise the tongues of the multitude for many years. Viscount Purbeck went abroad in the latter end of May, 1620, under colour of drinking the waters at Spa. Many said he was gone mad with pride; and in truth he was driven out of his senses, but it was by the conduct of his mother-in-law and of his wife. Lady Hatton supported her, whilst the Duke of Buckingham vehemently took his brother's part; and the courtiers of James I. were again divided into factions, on the quarrels of the daughter with her husband, as they had heretofore been in the disputes betwixt her father and her mother.

The Duke of Buckingham was especially desirous that his sister-in-law should do public penance in a white sheet, to which intent he had procured a sentence in the Ecclesiastical Court awarding that punishment for her delinquencies; but it was by no means easy to catch her,

for she assumed the male attire as readily as she did that of her own sex, and looked equally well in both. On one occasion she was very nearly captured in a place adjoining to the residence of one of the foreign ambassadors, but the pages of his Excellency, delighted with the frolic, dressed up one of their own fraternity in girl's clothes, and, putting him into a coach which drove furiously along the Strand, the officers of justice as rapidly pursued, and when, in the midst of an enormous concourse of people which had collected, they effected a capture, they found it was "the postmaster's boy."

This subject for scandalous excitement was not exhausted at the death of James I., but continued for some years to intermix with the domestic incidents of the next reign. Ten years after the accession of Charles I., a letter addressed to the Earl of Strafford (then Lord Wentworth, Lord Deputy in Ireland), from his correspondent the Rev. G. Garrard, contains this, amongst other news of the day:—

"Here is a business new revived. Your Lordship hath heard of a strong friendship betwixt Sir Robert Howard and the Lady Purbeck, for which she was called into the High Commission, and there sentenced to stand in a sheet in the Savoy church, which she avoided then by flight, and hath not been much looked after since, having lived much out of town, and constantly these last two years with her father at Stoke until he died; but this winter she lodged herself on the water-side over against Lambeth, I fear too near the road of the Archbishop's barge; whereof some complaint being made, she had a serjeant-at-arms sent with a warrant from the

Lords of the Council to carry her to the Gatehouse, whence she will hardly get out until she have done her penance. The same night was a warrant sent, signed by the Lords, to the warden of the Fleet, to take Sir Robert Howard at Suffolk House, and to carry him to the Fleet.

"My Lord, your humblest servant,

"G. GARRARD.

"March the 17th, 1635,
"St. Patrick's Day."

On the 3rd of September in the preceding year died Sir Edward Coke, in the eighty-third year of his age. His only domestic solace, we are told, was the company of his daughter, Lady Purbeck, whom he had forgiven, and she continued piously to watch over him until his death.

In the year again preceding (1633), Mr. Garrard, in a letter to the Lord Deputy, says, "Sir Edward Coke was said to be dead all one morning in Westminster Hall, insomuch that his wife got her brother, the Lord Wimbledon, to post with her to Stoke, to get possession of that place; but beyond Colebrook they met one of his physicians coming from him, who told her of his much amendment, which made them all return to London."

In the year 1635 we find further mention of Lady Purbeck's adventures. This occurs in another letter addressed to the Lord Deputy; and as this contains matters relating to several persons who will fall within the scope of our narrative, a larger extract is given from this communication of Mr. Garrard's:—

"No news yet of the Lady Purbeck since her escape out of the Gatehouse; but Sir Robert Howard lies by it still, close prisoner in the Fleet, being so committed

from the High Commission Court, until he shall bring her forth, who being there cannot do it, for he sees nobody, and, if he were out, would not do it: so that he is miserable, and like to pay dear for his unlawful pleasures.

"My Lord Vere died the day after your brother went hence, at Sir Henry Vane's table at dinner, being taken with an apoplexy as he sat calling for fresh salmon.

"My Lord of Northumberland was installed on the 13th of this month at Windsor. Never subject of this kingdom rode better attended from his house than he did, nor performed the business more nobly or more sumptuously. The king, queen, and prince stood at my Lord Wimbledon's, in the Strand; thirteen earls and a marquis rode with him, besides almost all the young nobility and many barons. I must not forget my Lord Cottington, who was very rich in jewels and his feathers, but in the Spanish way, and a competent number of the gentry, near an hundred horse in all, besides his servants, who were fifty, costly and bravely clothed, beyond any that hath been seen before; four pages, all earls' sons; twelve footmen; two brave coaches, with four in livery to drive them. The Garter is grown a dear honour; few will be able to follow this pattern.

"Shall I tell yourself how Bankes, the Attorney-General, hath been commended unto his Majesty—that he exceeds Bacon in eloquence, Chancellor Ellesmere in judgment, and William Noy in law? High praises. Pray God he answer his expectation that so praised him! The late Treasurer (Weston Earl of Portland) hath gained also an high praise for the manner of his dying."

The particulars of the Lord Treasurer's death are related by Garrard in a letter of the preceding year. Sir John Bankes attended at his deathbed, and wrote Lord Portland's will, as dictated by him in his last moments.

When the Treasurer's staff became thus vacant, it was a very general opinion that the Lord Deputy would be elevated to this appointment. Among others who urged him to make application for this place was his cousin, Sir George Butler, to whom he thus replied by letter dated May, 1635:—

"Sir,—This shall be in answer of yours of the 5th of April last, wherein I find you retain me in your memory, albeit remote and absent, for which I pay you many and hearty thanks.

"It is true I hear of the death of the Treasurer, and my Lord Cottington's being Master of the Wards. Believe me I have no ambition, nay, no inclination, to that place; for it is most certain I have an inward and obstinate aversion from it. I do not serve the king out of the ordinary ends that the servants of great princes attend them with; great wealth I covet not; greater powers than are already intrusted with me by my master I do not desire; I wish much rather abilities to discharge these I have as becomes me, than any of those I have not. Again, I serve not for reward, having received much more than I shall be ever able to deserve.

"Besides, there should, and I trust in God there shall, be a time for me, in stillness and repose, to consider myself, and these other more excellent and needful duties, than those momentary trifles below, which the Treasurer's place admits not, at least to my satisfaction.

And to be tyed to the importunity of affairs all my life, in good faith, all the preferments, and what else soever men most esteem in this world, shall, I trust, never so far lay asleep or infatuate the sense I ought to have of that much better which remains after this life. Hence it is that I have not writ to any of my friends since the Treasurer's death, to show them that they might forget him that forgets himself. And it is my misfortune that there should be such a dearth of men as that so unfit a man as myself should once come to be thought of for such a place."

Sir John Bankes, Attorney-General, became at this period the proprietor of Corfe Castle. When Sir Edward Coke died, his widow and daughter found themselves at liberty to dispose of a mansion whose gloomy grandeur, and position remote from the busier scenes of life, could not well accord with their tastes and habits. The very entrance of this castle, with its massive barriers and ponderous portcullis, could hardly fail to remind these ladies of the Gatehouse, in which each of them had passed a portion of her time not very agreeably.

The beautiful Lady Purbeck died early in life, not having long survived the father whose last years she so affectionately attended. He had much to answer for on her account. She was bartered, when but a child, for the gratification of his ambition; and if he had the common feelings of a man, which may be doubted when his conduct to the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh on their trials is remembered, he must have felt the real bitterness of death, in leaving this young creature friend-

less in a world which might have been such a happy world to her, born as she was with every gift of nature and of fortune. Lady Hatton merited a much smaller share of this heavy blame. Her own conduct, light as it was, never was impugned as criminal, and her love for her daughter was sincere. She was far from sanctioning her ill conduct, though she endeavoured to guard her from the indignities of public reproach. This lady continued to live for many years, in her second widowhood, on her property at Stoke Pogis; and in the civil wars became a very ardent partizan of the Parliamentary party.

The new proprietor of Corfe Castle was in every respect a person as opposite in character, tastes, and habits from the last, as it could have been possible to select. A summary of his history is found thus recorded in the pages of the 'Biographia Britannica:'—

"Sir John Bankes was descended from a good family seated in Cumberland, at Keswick, where he was born in the year 1589. The first part of his education he received at a grammar-school in his own county, whence, in 1604, he removed to Queen's College in Oxford, being then about fifteen, and there for some time pursued his studies. He left the University without a degree; and taking chambers in Gray's Inn, he applied himself to the law, in which science he quickly became eminent. His extraordinary diligence in his profession, his grave appearance, and excellent reputation, recommended him early to his sovereign, Charles I., by whom he was first made attorney to the prince. He was next year (1630) Lent-reader at Gray's Inn, and in 1631 treasurer of that Society. In August, 1634, he was knighted, and made

Attorney-General, in the place of Mr. Noy deceased. He discharged this arduous employment, in those perilous times, with great reputation, till in Hilary Term, 1640, he was made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in the room of Sir Edward Littleton, made Lord Keeper. In this high station he acted also with universal approbation, remaining in London, after the king was compelled to leave it, in order to discharge the duties of his office; but when he once understood that his continuance amongst them was looked upon by some as owning the cause of the Parliamentarians, he retired to York. So just an idea the King had of this act of loyalty, that, when he thought of removing the Lord Keeper, he at the same time was inclined to deliver the Great Seal to the Lord Chief Justice Bankes, whose integrity was generally confessed, but was by some suspected (though wrongfully, as it afterwards appeared) in point of courage. He subscribed the declaration made June 15, 1642, by the lords and gentlemen then with his Majesty at York; and yet his conduct was so far from aspersions that even the Parliament, in their proposals to the King in January, 1643, desired he might be continued in his office. Before this (viz. January, 1642) the University of Oxford, to manifest their high respect for him, created him Doctor of Laws. His Majesty also caused him to be sworn of his Privy Council, and always testified a great regard for his advice. In the summer circuit of 1643 he lost all his credit at Westminster for having declared, from the bench at Salisbury, that the actions of Essex, Manchester, and Waller were treasonable. The Commons voted him and the rest of the judges in that

sentiment traitors. In the mean time, Lady Bankes with her family being at Sir John's seat, Corfe Castle, in the isle of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire, the friends of the Parliament, who had already reduced all the sea-coasts but that place, resolved to reduce it likewise. The courageous Lady Bankes, though she had about her only her children, a few servants and tenants, and little hopes of relief, yet refused to render the fortress. Upon which Sir Walter Erle and Thomas Trenchard, Esq., who commanded the Parliament forces, had recourse to very rough measures. Thrice they attempted the place by surprise, and as often were repulsed with loss, though the first time Lady Bankes had but five men in the place, and during the whole time her garrison never exceeded forty.* Then they interdicted her the markets, and at length formally besieged the house with a very considerable force, a train of artillery, and a great quantity of ammunition. This forced the little town dependent on the castle to surrender, which inclined the besiegers to think the business done; but Lady Bankes, taking advantage of their remissness, procured a supply of provisions and ammunition, which enabled her still to hold out.

"At last the gallant Earl of Carnarvon, having with a considerable body of horse and dragoons cleared a great part of the west, came into the neighbourhood of Purbeck, whereupon Sir Walter Erle raised his siege, August 4, 1643, so precipitately that he left his tents standing, together with his ammunition and artillery, all of which fell into the hands of Lady Bankes's household.

* This relates to the first siege only.

"There is no question but this action was very pleasing to the king at Oxford, where Sir John continued in the discharge of his duty as a Privy Councillor till the last day of his life, viz. December 28, 1644. He was interred with great solemnity in the chapel of Christchurch, and a monument erected to his memory, which still remains, inscribed with a suitable epitaph in Latin. The only epitaph he had desired was,—'Not unto us, Lord, not unto us; but unto thy name be glory.'

"He left behind him a numerous posterity, both males and females, of whom his eldest son, Sir Ralph Bankes, paid 1974*l.* as a forfeiture to the State; his eldest daughter's husband, Sir John Borlace, 3500*l.* He had been a Lord Justice of Ireland, in commission with the Duke of Ormond. Lady Bankes, when a widow, for herself and seven younger children, was decreed to pay 1400*l.* By his will, the Lord Chief Justice Bankes gave various sums to pious uses, particularly 30*l.* per annum to the town of Keswick, in Cumberland, for the support of a manufacture of coarse cottons, then lately set up in this town, and which had been lost but for that supply."

It may appear a matter for surprise that a private gentleman, whose habits and disposition were such as have been described, should have made purchase of a palace for his place of residence; also that the profession of the law should have enabled a practitioner, however able and diligent, at a comparatively early period of life, to possess himself not only of this large mansion and domain, but of an extent of lands purchased in addition, in other parts of the same county, adequate for maintaining it.

It has been truly observed by the biographers of men eminent in the law during the period now spoken of, that their gains were such as might excite the surprise even of the most successful legal practitioners of the present day. The smaller numbers engaged at that period, as compared with the present very ample supply of barristers embarked in this honourable profession, will account for the more rapid growth of such fortunes in the earlier times.

The retired situation of Corfe Castle, and the character justly attributed to the district in which it stands, noted for salubrity of soil and climate, were inducements which no doubt operated upon the inclinations of Sir John—his forensic intercourse with the Chief Justice Coke having given him opportunities for acquainting himself with the particulars of the purchase which he now completed.

The new Attorney-General had not attained his present elevated position as a flatterer of the favourite of the day, nor by any of those unseemly intrigues or courtly struggles, the records of which are so little creditable to the memories of Bacon and of Coke.

At a distance from the cares and cabals which then surrounded the throne, he hoped in this retirement to find a happy relaxation from the toils of public life: he might, if any man could, with reason have promised to himself a share in that enjoyment spoken of in the Holy Volume, which records, "Rich men furnished with ability, living peaceably in their own habitation."* But man proposes, and in vain. The station which he had

* Eccles. xliv. 6.

so honourably attained, without envy or hatred from any quarter, became on a sudden a post surrounded by dangers, difficulties, and contentions of the bitterest and most anxious description; whilst the peaceful dwelling which he had earned with years of toil, and purchased for his children's home, expecting there in his leisure hours to witness the pleasures

> " of their childhood flitting by
> In the mirth of its December and the warmth of its July,"

became the scene of battle, siege, and death, involved in perils more severe and ruinous than these walls had ever before encountered, either in the days of pagan rapine or of feudal discord.

In the year 1636 the great question on the writ for the levy of ship-money came on for argument in the Court of Exchequer Chamber before the twelve Judges. Oliver St. John was the leading counsel in opposition to the legality of the writ, whilst the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General appeared for the crown. Noy, the late Attorney-General, had, in conjunction with Finch the Lord-Keeper, devised this scheme of exaction. It was unquestionably founded on ancient precedent so far as it affected the maritime portions of the kingdom, and as unquestionably it was a novelty unsupported by any pretence of right when applied to the county of Buckingham. The arguments of the counsel occupied many days, and the Exchequer Chamber took a considerable time for deliberation. The arguments on the part of the crown were urged with learning and ability, and no obloquy was in any degree thrown on those who as advocates discharged their duty to the crown. The result

might probably have been more agreeable to their private feelings and opinions if it had been adverse to their advocacy; but the decree passed in their favour, though carried only by a majority of 7 to 5 of those who gave the judgment. At this time the Lord Deputy of Ireland was beginning to encounter the effects of animosities which he had rashly and wrongfully provoked in many powerful quarters. He had, therefore, frequent occasion for communicating with the Attorney-General, and he learnt to place great reliance as well on his legal advice as on his private friendship. The news of his principal steward's death had at this time brought Lord Wentworth suddenly from Ireland; he obtained leave to come to England for a short time to make arrangement of his private affairs in Yorkshire. He attended in June before a council at Hampton Court, where the king was then residing, and gave a full account of his government in Ireland, all which being accepted in the most gracious manner, he ventured to renew an application first made by him two years earlier for an earl's patent before his return to his government, but had the extreme mortification to have this suit again denied. He had grounded his application on the expediency of evincing to the enemies now rising up against him, that he continued to possess the confidence and approbation of the king his master. He had desired his friend the archbishop to be a mediator with the king towards the success of this application. The Archbishop complied with this request, and received for answer from the King that he would do that which should strengthen the Lord Deputy enough against any practising at court;

but that for the particular and all which concerned it, he would give the Deputy an answer himself so soon as he came to his next place of leisure. He did so in the following terms:—

"Wentworth,—Certainly I should be much to blame not to admit so good a servant as you are to speak with me, since I deny it to none that there is not a just exception against; yet I must freely tell you that the cause of this desire of yours, if it be known, will rather hearten than discourage your enemies; for if they can once find that you apprehend the dark setting of a storm, when I say no, they will make you leave to care for anything in a short while but for your fears; and, believe it, the marks of my favours that stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to accusers and the willing ear I give to my servants. This is not to disparage those favours (for envy flies most at the fairest mark), but to show their use; to wit, not to quell envy, but to reward service; it being truly so when the master without the servant's importunity does it; otherwise men judge it more to proceed from the servant's wit than the master's favour. I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman, courtier, or a lover—never make a defence or apology before you be accused. And so I rest your assured friend,

"CHARLES R.

"Lindhurst, 3rd Sept. 1636."

This unexpected refusal was a great blow to Wentworth, though he had thought himself so free from ambition. He visited the court again in his passage to

Ireland, where he arrived in the November of the same year. His ardent wish for further elevation in the peerage was not gratified until more than three years after this time.

It was during this visit to England that the following letter was addressed

"To my much respected friend Sir JOHN BANKES, Knight, His Matyes Attorney Generall.

"Sir,—I proposed to have seen you this afternoone, but that sum occasions call me hence sooner then I looked for; hence it is that I must make use of this instrumentt to give you an acknowledgment of your favoure and respectts shewn to me and my affaires in the time of my absence, and to desire the continuance of them. Ther is small in me to induce you into itt, more than this, that I am able to assure you that, if it chance to cum in my way to expresse my thankfulnesse either to yourself or any friend of yours, you shall adde extreme much to yor former obligations sett upon me, freely to command me, and then you shall finde how much I esteeme and regarde your desires or commendations in all things.

"This gentleman, Sir Richard Scott, tells me he is to desire your direction and assistance for the procuring of a privy seale for issuing of a dedimus potestatem for taking of a fine from a young gentleman, the particulars I must referre to his relation, only that I shall adde that his Matye was moved in my presence, and was graciously pleased to grantte his sute, and that the respectt and helpe you shall afforde him I shall putt to my owne

accompt, and for this and all the rest acknowledge and approve myself

"Your very affectionate friende and servant,

"WENTWORTH.

"Hanworth, this 24th of July, 1636."

Another letter is dated— "Cosha, 24 May, 1638.

"Sr,—Ther are soe many things I am to acknowledge unto your respectt of my affaires on that side, as it is with difficulty to choose wher to beginn, and the greatest civility I persuade myself is in few wordes to mention and professe my thankfulnesse by troubling you as seldome as possibly I may; but in truth your kindnesse hath begotten you a customer of me, for as oft as ther is occasion I shall be sure to send my agent unto you; and yet, to say as well the better as the worst by myself (wch you will say all men naturally are prone unto), seriously, if ther be anything wherein I may serve any your desires, it shall be your greatest favoure freely to commande me, and my cheefe care and attention soe to fulfill them as may best and most forcibly expresse me

"Your most faithfull friend and servant,

"WENTWORTH."

Another is written in December of the same year.

"EARL OF STRAFFORD TO SIR JOHN BANKES.

"Sr,—My present indisposition will excuse the badnesse of the caracter; in charity you must afforde it me, lying all along lame of the goute.

"I doe indeed acknowledge your greate favoure and

regarde you are pleased to looke upon all my troublesome business with, thorrow w^ch^, by God's blessing and your assistance, I trust my innocense shall at last carry me, how great a weight of calumny and malice soever presse upon me for the present.

"It must be still my desire the E. of Holland and the Lo. Wilmot may be examined, and that the judges may report and rule the matter; for my parte I desire only this singular question may be asked him, whether S^r^ Perse Crosbye had told him either that I had, or that the report was I had, beate to death with a cudgell or otherwise killed a man in Ireland, and who tooke it upon his deathe the blowes I had given him were the cause of his deathe, and what the name of the man soe reported to be killed was?

"How this should trenche upon the priviledge of a counsellour I confesse my ignorance cannot shew me; nay, how in honour or conscience his Lo^p^ can doe lesse then to bring such a damnable scandall to be punished in the person of him that soe impudently reported it; and not barely soe, but soe shamefully to inform his Lo^p^ and make him the instrumente to prejudice so deeply in the graciouse opinion of his Ma^ty^ his fellow servant and counsellour, and (howbeit unworthy) soe great a minister in all the mighty affaires of this kingdome. I knowe not how his Lo^p^ will take to be so delt withall, being thus made the cundit pipe of soe foull and grosse an untruth, and that to his Ma^ty^; but in such a case I should disdaine extreamly to be soe made use of, and holde myself bounde to discover the truth, to expiate for the wronge I had dun

in giving credit to the reporter. And sure I cannot conceave how any counsellor can priviledge himself from declaring the truthe in a business thus conditioned, for God forbid we should render ourselves patrons of such villanies as these be, or becum the cisternes wher such foull odours as these were to empty themselves under our saveguards. It may be for the king's service for us to conceale the persons of such as tell us truthes which may advantadge his Ma^ty^e, but it would be for his Ma^ty^e's disservice and our owne dishonour to preserve for ever such abominable lies as this from justice and condigne punishment. As for the businesse of Londonderry, it hath stucke long on that side by reason of sum great pretences ther to advantage his Ma^ties^ service and profitt, w^ch^ I am affraide will in conclusion loose the king many thousandes. If any of those persons understande more of the valew then myself, it were a greate shame for me; and if any be more zealouse to advance the service, in good faith I deserve to loose my heade; but I am extreamly well content his Ma^ty^e sends his commissioners, who on the place will be able the best of all to understande and report it.

"Sure I am they shall have the uttermost I can assiste them w^th^, as often as they shall let me see where or how I may be of use unto them, and soe it must rest expecting ther cumming; the sooner it is, the better for the king.

"It would be of much contentment unto me if it lay in my power to doe you any service by my pen or otherwise to his Ma^ty^. Believe me, S^r^, I shall not only performe it with all possible advantadge to yourself, but

on all occasions industriously seeke and procure myself the meanes to doe it soe as might in sum little shew you the greate measure of respect and good intentions w^ch^ I shall allwayes preserve for you, and w^ch^ shall allwayes express me to be

"Your most faithfull humble servant,

"Dublin, 24 Decemb. 1638. "WENTWORTH.

"I wishe you may be able to reade these scribles, w^ch^ I am ashamed of, but in present cannot better them."

Some of the expressions in the letter just recited are very remarkable with reference to Lord Strafford's future fate.

The next letter bears date in the spring of the following year:—

"S^r^,—I have tow of your letters of the last moneth to answeare, and very much to thanke you for, seeing you are pleased to have soe much care to my sute in the Starr chamber. I have diligently, according to my small skill, gon over all the bookes, and observed what my oune reason is able to suggest to the clever defense of myself, w^ch^ nevertheless I wholly submitt what is to be said or not to be said, to you, on whose iudgement I infinitly more confide then on my oune; only I must needes say, when I see the wicked practises of the defendants, and the great ccuntenance given unto some of them by sum of the greate ones, I cannot (be my innocense never soe great) but lift up my hands to heauen, acknowledging it is God's goodnesse, not my oune foresight, that hath delivered me (I trust) soe well forth of that congregation of the perverse and wicked.

"S^r George Radcliffe will attend you by the beginning of the terme, and Mr. Wrightington, I thanke him, will all soe assiste you, and in better handes then amongst you I cannot be; soe as on Wednesday next cum seavennight the cause I conceave will cum to hearing, and then it will appeare whether S^r P. Crosby or my self had the more cause to keepe it from the sentence of that court.

"How it may faire with Lo. Mountnorris I am not able to iudge. My Lo. of Hollande is set a parte for other employments, w^ch will not give him leysure to thinke so lowe as a cause of mine in the Starr chamber, otherwise sure I should have taken that from my counsell, and humbly have besought the court that a witnesse, w^ch was soe unwillingly broughte to be examined, might not be held an indifferent iudge in my cause, for in truth, allbeit I will not easily contend with his Lo^p, yet, on the other side, I am not becum as yet soe tame as to forbeare speaking just things for myself out of contemplation of his Lo^p's displeasure or greatnesse.

"Sir Phillip Mainwaring, his Ma^jes Principall secretary, will be in towne at the hearing; and I very much covett, if the course of the court will alowe of it, he may be asked in court how he knowes I strucke not Esmunde, in regarde Atkins, a vicious fellow in all kindes, sweares soe gallantly for the stroakes I gave the man, contrary to what M^r Secretary and my stewarde Josua Carpenter have deposed. This I trust I may the rather obtain, in that I doe not desire to inforce any thing out of such an affermation against any defendant, but only *honoris causâ*. I desire those that stande by may be satisfied, *foro conscientiæ*, and the rather for that I publikly

affermed to my Master and all my Lords in counsell, as I doe still, that, if I strucke Esmunde, I will be content to confesse I killed him.

"I pray you therefore gaine this if may be, though you doe assigne your reason only to be to justifie what I then sayd, and that most truly, to the King, when I was last at Hampton Court.

"S^r^, the trouble of this untowarde businesse hath been soe greate, as I knowe not how to deserve it of you, or indeed to excuse myself for being so pressing upon your greater businesse; all I can say is, that if it ever cum in my power, ther is neither time, person, nor place shall give me any difficulty in the very really and sincerely professing myself

"Your most faithfull friend and seruant,

"Dublin, this 28th of April, 1639." "WENTWORTH.

In the next year the long-desired Earldom was conferred. Wentworth was created Earl of Strafford, added to which was the fatal title of Baron Raby; he was adorned also with the Blue ribbon, and likewise invested with the title of Lord-Lieutenant—a distinction which had not been conferred upon any deputy since Elizabeth had granted it to Robert Earl of Essex. In heaping upon him these honours, the king (says Thomas Moore) was but decorating a victim for other hands to sacrifice.

Several matters referred to in the two last of the letters above given, were interwoven with the various charges which formed the articles of Strafford's impeachment in the year 1641.

"The Earl of Strafford had for more than six years governed Ireland, where he had been compelled upon reasons of state to exercise many acts of power, and had indulged some to his own appetite and passion, as in the cases of the Lord Mountnorris and the Lord Chancellor. He was a man of too high and severe a deportment to have many friends at court, and therefore could not but have enemies enough. He had two that professed it—the Earl of Holland and Sir Henry Vane. To these a third adversary (like to be more pernicious than the other two) was added—the Earl of Essex, naturally enough disinclined to his person, his power, and his parts, upon some rough carriage of the Earl of Strafford towards the late Earl of St. Albans, to whom he had a friendship, and therefore openly professed to be revenged. Lastly, he had an enemy more terrible than all the others, and like to be more fatal—the whole Scottish nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom. So that he had reason to expect as hard measure from such popular councils as he saw were like to be in request, as all those disadvantages could create towards him. And yet, no doubt, his confidence was so great in himself, and in the form of justice (which he could not suspect would be so totally confounded), that he never apprehended a greater censure than a sequestration from all public employments, of which it is probable he had had an abundant satiety. He was a man (continues Lord Clarendon) of great parts and extraordinary endowments of nature, not unadorned with some addition of art and

learning; and he had a readiness of conception and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was."

Another quotation from Thomas Moore's History of Ireland, coming from the pen of so vehement an adversary to the earl's policy, is valuable towards forming a just estimate of Strafford's government of Ireland. "Of all his merits (says Moore) as a man and a statesman, that which redounds most to his honour was the wise and tolerant spirit by which, in all matters relating to religion, he was generally actuated. He could boast, with just pride, that during his government in Ireland not the hair of a man's head was touched for the free exercise of his conscience."

Moore again says,—"In taking a review of Wentworth's policy as minister of the affairs of Ireland, it would be injustice not to yield the fullest approval to the great services rendered by him to that kingdom in all matters connected with its revenue, commerce, and manufactures. So successful were the plans adopted by him for the improvement of its fiscal resources, that, in the fifth year of his administration, the annual amount, we are told, of the revenue bid fair to exceed the expenditure by sixty thousand pounds." In matters relating to religious liberty, to trade and commerce, manufactures and revenue, we have it thus on the admission of a strong political adversary that Strafford deserved the name of a great statesman.

His conduct with regard to civil liberty cannot be defended. He found in Ireland many tyrants, and came amongst them like Aaron's serpent, "to swallow up the

rest." His arbitrary domination fed the hungry and sustained the weak, but the rich it sent empty away. Those whose practices he checked loaded him, of course, with maledictions, whilst those whom his policy relieved were too humble to reach him with their thanks. The fairest criterion of his government is the condition in which Ireland stood when he quitted it, and the horrible reverse which ensued in six months after his death. A measure very lately adopted by the Imperial parliament for the relief of Ireland, called 'The Encumbered Estates Act,' was one of Strafford's plans. Nothing could be more arbitrary in principle, more opposite to every recognized rule of established law—nothing more unfit for adoption, unless the plea of necessity were admitted as decisive in its favour: and if success attends this measure, Strafford's memory may stand relieved from at least a portion of the obloquy which has been heaped upon him. Of the manuscripts now referred to that are in Strafford's handwriting, the latest in point of date (excepting his last letter to his son) is of the 5th of May, 1640. This paper contains the minutes of the Privy Council held on that day, which was the day of the dissolution of the Short Parliament. The minutes of this Council, in the handwriting of Sir Henry Vane the elder, scandalously purloined and given by the younger Sir Harry Vane to Pym, was the cause of Strafford's condemnation and death.

In April, 1640, the parliament assembled which was so fatally dissolved on the 5th of the following month of May. It was not customary for the Attorney-General at this period to sit in the House of Commons, a seat

being assigned to his office with the judges in the House of Peers. No blame, therefore, attached to the Attorney-General with regard to this most unhappy error. Herbert, the Solicitor-General, justly received a large portion of censure; he had acted very injudiciously in the course of the debates, and had led the king to suppose that this was an impracticable House of Commons.

No sooner was the Parliament dissolved than all men perceived that another Parliament must soon be called, to which the character of being impracticable would be much more suitable than to the last. On the 3rd of November in the same year the next Parliament was assembled, under the most melancholy appearances for the Crown. The king went not in his usual state to open the session, but privately by water in his barge. The person intended for Speaker by the court had not succeeded in being elected to a seat in the House; and in the difficulty which resulted from this circumstance, the choice of Lenthall was assented to by the king, though he was a man of no eminent repute; and he gained afterwards no addition of reputation from the mode in which he discharged the functions of this high position.

On the first day of transacting public business in the Commons (the 11th November) the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford was suddenly proposed, and after some hours of debate with locked doors—no person being permitted to go out—the proposition was carried without a division. The House having assembled, as was the usage, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the accusers were prepared soon after 3 in the afternoon to carry

this impeachment to the bar of the House of Lords. Strafford, prevented by illness, had not attended the House of Lords that morning, but, hearing casually in the course of the afternoon that the Houses were still sitting, he went down in his carriage to learn the subject of their deliberations. He entered just in time to witness the arrival of messengers from the House of Commons, bringing up to the bar of the Peers articles of impeachment against the Earl of Strafford on charges of high treason. At the demand of the Commons, he was forthwith ordered to quit his place in the House of Peers, and on his knees at the bar to receive notice of his arrest. His sword was taken from him, and, being forbidden the use of his own carriage, he was conveyed in the carriage of the officer of the Black Rod to a place of imprisonment, from whence he was soon afterwards removed to the Tower.

To this Parliament had been elected—as burgesses for the borough of Corfe Castle—Sir Francis Windebank, Knt., Secretary of State, and John Borlace, Esq., afterwards Sir John Borlace, who married Sir John Bankes's eldest daughter.

The Commons, having secured the great statesman the Earl of Strafford, and the great churchman Archbishop Laud, began to prepare an impeachment against the great officer of law the Lord Keeper Finch, of high treason, of which he having notice, desired by a letter to be admitted to speak for himself before them. Upon this letter there arose great controversy in the House; and after some time spent about it, it was granted him, and the following Monday appointed for that purpose.

On the 21st day of December the Lord Keeper Finch came into the House, a chair being set for him near to the bar, he carrying the purse himself; and when the Speaker told him that his Lordship might sit, he made a low obeisance, and, laying down the seal and his hat on the chair, himself leaning on the back of it, made a speech in his own vindication, which he delivered with an excellent grace and gesture. Many were exceedingly taken with his eloquence and carriage (says Rushworth), and it was a sad sight to see a person of his greatness, parts, and favour, to appear in such a posture before such an assembly to plead for his life and fortunes.

On the same day he was voted a traitor by the House of Commons. The next day he was accused before the Lords, but he waited not for their proceedings: getting up early, he took ship and escaped into Holland.

About the same time Sir Francis Windebank, one of the principal secretaries of state, a member for Corfe Castle, was accused of many transactions on the behalf of the Papists, and, he being then present in the House, several warrants under his own hand were produced, for the discharge of prosecutions against priests, and for the release of priests out of prison. Whereupon, whilst the matter should be debated, according to custom, he was ordered to withdraw, and so went into the usual place, the committee-chamber. Immediately whereupon the House of Commons went to a conference with the Lords upon some other occasion, and, returning from that conference, no more resumed the debate of the secretary, but, having considered some other business, rose at their usual hour; and so the secretary had liberty to go to

his own house, from whence, observing the disposition of the House, and well knowing what they were able to say against him, he had no more mind to trust himself in that company, but the same night withdrew himself from any place where inquiry might be made for him, and was no more heard of till the news came of his being landed in France. "I could never yet learn" (says Lord Clarendon) "the true reason why they suffered Secretary Windebank to escape their justice, against whom they had more pregnant testimony of offences within the verge of the law than against any person they have accused since this Parliament, and of some that, it may be, might have proved capital, and so their appetite of blood might have been satisfied; for, besides his frequent letters of intercession in his own name, and signification of his Majesty's pleasure, on the behalf of Papists and priests, to the judges, and to other ministers of justice, and protections granted by himself that nobody should molest them, he harboured some priests in his own house, knowing them to be such; and there were some warrants under his own hand for the release of priests out of Newgate who were actually attainted of treason, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered: which the lawyers said would have been very penal to him."

It does indeed appear surprising that a Parliament, disposed as this was, could have been induced to forego so fair an opportunity for the exercise of what they called justice; but the explanation of this surprising moderation is found in the circumstance of Sir Harry Vane being at this time joint-Secretary with Sir Francis

Windebank; and though Sir Harry Vane was by no means suspected of having participated in Windebank's efforts to mitigate the inhuman code of laws which then existed against Papists, yet there were other transactions now called into question, in which Sir Harry Vane had taken part, and was more deeply implicated than his brother secretary. Such were the issue of warrants at the time of the dissolution of the last Parliament for the searching the studies and papers of those who were or had been members of the House. Sir Harry Vane was by no means to be put in jeopardy. Another motive also induced the party then ruling in Parliament to connive at the escape of Windebank—they wished for an immediate vacancy in the place he held, intending that the king should be induced to confer it on Denzil Holles, member for Dorchester.

On the 17th of December a new writ was moved for the borough of Corfe Castle, and Giles Green, Esq., was elected to supply the vacancy occasioned by the flight of the late member.

Having made their first entrance upon business with this vigour, the Parliament proceeded every day with the same fervour, and he who expressed most warmth against the court and the government was heard with the most applause. That they might hasten the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, they formed a close committee of such members as they knew to be most for their purpose, who should, under the obligation of secrecy, prepare the heads of the charges against him; and they sent a message to the House of Peers, desiring them likewise to nominate a select committee for this purpose,

which, though it was without precedent, the Lords presently consented to.

It became necessary that the king should fill up the vacancy occasioned by the flight of the late Keeper of the Great Seal. After some little delay the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Lord Littleton, was appointed to hold that high office; and the Attorney-General, Sir John Bankes, being raised to the seat which Littleton previously held, was now sworn a member of the Privy Council, and became a confidential adviser of the crown.

The noble and learned author of a very amusing publication, 'The Lives of the Lord Chancellors,' has been betrayed into inaccuracy with regard to this period of history, giving as a reason for the appointment of Littleton to the Great Seal, that the king found it impossible to appoint the Attorney or Solicitor General, as the promotion of either of those law officers would have been considered a direct insult to the House of Commons.

Evidence will appear in subsequent pages of these memoirs sufficient to satisfy the judicial mind of the learned author, that he has been entirely mistaken with regard to the feeling of the parliamentary leaders of the House of Commons towards the Attorney-General, now raised to the chief seat in the Common Pleas. The Parliament knew him to be unflinching in his loyalty to the king, but they were aware also that this loyal feeling involved no subserviency of character nor any sacrifice of constitutional principle, and it was through him, rather than through any other of the king's advisers, that they hoped and endeavoured to effect an accommodation between the Parliament and the crown. The Earl of

Northumberland, Denzill Holles, the Earl of Essex, Lord Say and Sele, Lord Wharton, and Lord Holland, it may be admitted, stood high amongst the leaders of the parliamentary party in the best days of its power. The reader will judge for himself of the impression which a perusal of their correspondence with Sir John Bankes is calculated to produce, in regard to their estimation of his character, and of his qualities, as fitting him for a station of trust and power.

The following extracts from the Archbishop Laud's Diary apply to this period:—

"*October* 27, *Simon and Jude's Eve.*—I went into my upper study, to see some manuscripts which I was sending to Oxford. In that study hung my picture taken by the life; and coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in Parliament. God grant this be no omen!

"*December* 18, *Friday.*—I was accused by the House of Commons for high treason, without any particular charge laid against me. Mr. Holles was the man that brought up the message to the Lords. Soon after the charge was brought into the Upper House by Scots commissioners, tending to prove me an incendiary, upon which I was presently committed to the Gentleman Usher. I was permitted to go in his company to Lambeth, for a book or two to read in. I stayed at Lambeth till the evening to avoid the gazing of the people.

"*December* 21.—I was fined 500*l.* in the Parliament House, and Sir John Lambe and Sir Henry Martin

250*l.* apiece, for keeping Sir Robert Howard close prisoner, in the case of the escape of the Viscountess Purbeck out of the Gate-house. In such a case, say the imprisonment were more than the law allowed, what may be done for honour and religion sake?

"*Wednesday.*—The Lords ordered me to pay the money presently, which was done. I was forced to sell plate to pay where I borrowed it.

"*Thursday.*—A Parliament-man of good note sent me word that, by reason of my patient and moderate carriage since my commitment, four Earls of great power in the Upper House told him that the Lords were not now so sharp against me as they were at first, and that now they were only resolved to sequester me from the King's Council, and to put me from the archbishopric. So I see what justice I may expect, since here is a resolution taken, not only before my answer, but before my charge was brought against me."

A continuation of very striking incidents in the proceedings of Parliament ushered in the next year, 1641. On the 11th of February it was resolved "That Sir Robert Berkeley, Knt., one of the Judges of the King's Bench, shall be accused by this House of high treason; and that Sir John Culpepper be appointed to go to the Lords, and desire that he may be forthwith committed." In consequence of this, Judge Berkeley was taken off the bench in Westminster Hall by the Usher of the Black Rod, and committed; which struck a great terror into the rest of his brethren, then sitting, and on all of his profession.

On the 25th of February the Earl of Strafford was

brought to the House of Lords for some purpose preliminary to his approaching trial; the Lord Keeper being sick and not able to come to the House, a commission was granted to Sir John Bankes, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, under the Great Seal, to supply the place as Speaker; and he occupied the Woolsack when his honoured friend was thus introduced as a criminal at the Bar.

On the 1st of March an extraordinary division took place in the House of Commons. One Dr. Chaffin of Salisbury had, on the occasion of a visitation, officiated in the cathedral of that city, and in the course of the service introduced the following words into the Litany:—'From all lay Puritans, and all lay Parliament-men, good Lord deliver me.' He repeated expressions to the same effect in his sermon. The question being put, whether for these words Dr. Chaffin should be committed prisoner to the Tower? the House divided, and it was carried in the negative by 190 against 189. It was ordered, however, that the Doctor should be called to the bar and receive a sharp reprehension.

The division above referred to is a proof of the near balance of parties in the House at that time.

On Monday, the 22nd of March, the proceedings commenced against the Earl of Strafford.

The general history of this memorable transaction has been so often told, that a few particular incidents only will here be noticed, occurring in the space of eighteen days, during which period the eventful trial was continued. The first are extracts from the newspaper, or the 'Diurnal of the whole Processe against the

Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, taken by the hand of a ready writer, a faithful ear, and an understanding head.' "He was present" (says this publisher) "at all the action, and I make no doubt of the fidelity of his relation."

"On Monday morning, about seven of the clock, the Earl of Strafford came from the Tower, accompanied with six barges, wherein were one hundred soldiers of the Tower, all with partizans, for his guard, and fifty pair of oars. At his landing at Westminster he was attended with two hundred of the trained band, and went in guarded by them into the Hall. The king, queen, and prince came to the House about nine of the clock, but kept themselves private within their closets. When the Lieutenant entered the Hall, the porter of the Hall (whose office it is) asked Master Maxwell, the Black Rod, whether the axe should be carried before him or no, who did answer that the king had expressly forbidden it. The day was spent in reading the accusations and replies. The queen went from the House about eleven of the clock. The king and prince stayed till the meeting was dissolved after two. The Lieutenant was sent to the Tower by his guard, and appointed to return upon Tuesday at nine of the clock. The crowd of people was neither great nor troublesome; all of them saluted him, and he them, with great humility and courtesy, both at his entrance and at his return; therefore let fame pretend what it please about the malice and discontent of the multitude, that if he pass the stroke of justice they will tear him in pieces, yet I see there is more in rumour than in sight and appearance: and in this report, as in all others of this

nature, more is thrust upon the vulgar than they do justly deserve. On Tuesday Pym opened the charges, adding three new articles to the impeachment. The managers named on the part of the Commons are Pym, Glyn, Maynard, Whitelock, Lord Digby, St. John, Palmer, Sir Walter Erle, Strond, Selden, Hampden. One of these" (continues the Diurnal) "began the speech, the rest after their colleague hath done follow in their turn; so that he hath all of them to wrestle against, and yet sufficiently able for them all; though by his agitation his spirits are much exhausted."

The third charge was, that he proceeded summarily in the matter of the Lord Mount-Norris.

"He replied, First, that he was not judge in it, and that the council of war was to be answerable in the justification of their own proceedings; that, as he had been regulated in his proceedings, so he had been moderate in the execution of that sentence; for though the Lord Mount-Norris deserved to die, yet he had obtained for him the king's pardon for the saving of his life, and protested that he intended nothing by that sentence, but in some measure to repair his own honour, and to give Mount-Norris fair reproof, who was known to be of an exorbitant and licentious tongue and spirit; adding, that if the House of Commons would go on the same way with him, and assure him that the issue of his charge should be nothing else but to admonish him for the time to come, he would thank them heartily for it, and study amendment in all his pretended oversights. And whereas Mount-Norris complained that he had jeeringly told him, when the sentence was passed, that,

ere he lost his head, himself would lose his hand, he answered, that he had been thought to be very insolent and haughty, yet he was never so impertinent as to use this expression. And truly (said he) if Mount-Norris would say so to me now, even in the worst sense that can be conceived, that ere I died he would lose his hand, I would take it very kindly from him. He concluded by saying, that, seeing he was not accessory to the sentence against Mount-Norris, had not sat there as judge, had a power to keep martial courts by his commission, had not exercised the same till a new command came from his majesty, had done no more than ever was practised in Ireland before his time, and had at last obtained Mount-Norris his pardon, he hoped there was nothing accusable in him but his too remiss and too moderate proceedings. Master Glyn bitterly replied, that he knew the time when the Earl of Strafford was no less active and stirring to enlarge the liberty of the subject, and advance the petition of right, than now he is for extending his own arbitrary and tyrannical government.

"To this he replied, without the least semblance of passion, that, if at any time he had done the least service to the House of Commons, he thought his whole life well spent, nor could they ever so graciously reward him as to give commission to that gentleman to express so much before that honourable assembly: but withal, if ever any such thing was done by him, he entreated it might now be remembered, and might now serve to overbalance some slight and mean oversights committed by him, which he hoped should never make him guilty

of treason, unless it were treason for a man to have no more wit and prudence than God and nature had bestowed upon him.

"It was a sport," says the Diurnal, "to see how Master Pym in his speech was fearfully out, and continued to pull out his papers and read with a great deal of confusion and disorder before he could recollect himself, which failing of his memory was no small advantage to the lieutenant."

"April 10th," says the Parliamentary History, "an affair of the utmost consequence to the Earl of Strafford, since it cost him his life, came before the Commons: preparatory to it the doors of the House were ordered to be shut, the key brought up, and none to go out without leave. Then Mr. Glyn reported from the Committee in the Earl of Strafford's cause that they had some further evidence to corroborate the latter part of the 23rd article against him: thereupon Sir Henry Vane the younger and Mr. Pym were enjoined by the House to declare their whole knowledge concerning the matters contained in that article against the Earl, and how and by what means they came by it. When they had done this, a paper was produced by Mr. Pym, and so much of it read by him as concerned the Earl of Strafford, but afterwards he was ordered to read it all."

The further examination of this business is left short in the Journals; it is only said "there, that the Treasurer, Sir Henry Vane, was enjoined by the House to answer whether he did take any notes to the effect of those notes already read, at what time, and on what occasion?" The answer does not appear on the Journals.

We know from other authorities that a scene of a very pathetic character was performed on this occasion between the two Sir Henry Vanes; whether this was in consequence of previous arrangement between them remains uncertain. The notes contained in this paper were put in as evidence, and Strafford, who had up to this time so baffled his accusers as to have driven them from the course they first intended, was now subjected to a bill of attainder, instead of an impeachment, and called upon on the 13th of April to answer the charge which these notes were said to prove against him.

It was the intention of the Committee of Managers that the Earl should be taken by surprise, and see the notes for the first time when thus brought out in evidence against him. But they perceived by his answers that the matter was not new to him.

Whitelock in his Memoirs tells us, that the foregoing paper, of so great consequence, was missing at the Committee; and by the Earl's answer they now supposed he had seen it, and that it was conveyed to him by some of the Committee: Whitelock adds that he, being in the chair, and having the charge and custody of all the papers, was suspected more than others to have acted this piece of treachery; he told them that he never showed this paper to any but the Committee, and knew not who had it, or what was become of it; nor did he convey it, or know of any that had conveyed it away. But this would not serve; the House was acquainted with the missing of the paper, and they ordered "That every one of the Committee should make a solemn protestation in the House that they did not convey it away,

nor knew what was become of it. All of them made this protestation, and the Lord Digby with more earnestness and deeper imprecations than any of the rest; yet afterwards, at the battle of Naseby, the king's cabinet being taken, among the papers in it was a copy of these notes, under the Lord Digby's hand; whereby Whitelock says he was cleared, and the conveyer of the paper to the king, and from him to the Earl of Strafford, was fully discovered.

It is thus that the copy of these notes existing in Strafford's own handwriting may be accounted for. The first story promulgated by those who seized the king's cabinet at Naseby was, that the original paper was therein found, having upon it this endorsement in the king's own hand: "Given to me by George Digby." But Whitelock's account appears the more probable of the two.

Immediately after his reply to this last piece of evidence, the Earl delivered the closing speech which from that time to the present has been surpassed by no effort of oratory in our language. Whitelock, chairman of the Committee sitting for this prosecution, thus records the effect of this defence: "Certainly never any man acted such a part on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures; he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."

April 14.—The Bill of attainder was read a second time and committed.

April 21.—The Bill was debated strongly great part of the morning, and was ordered to be engrossed. This

engrossment was made very quickly, and on the same day Lord Digby (member for Dorsetshire), who had been one of the Committee against the Earl, on the question of the third reading declared his reason for opposing the Bill of attainder, of which speech these are some of the passages :—

"Mr. Speaker,—We are now upon the point of giving (as much as in us lies) the final sentence unto death or life on a great minister of state and peer of this kingdom, Thomas Earl of Strafford; a name of hatred in the present age by his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment. I have had the honour to be employed by the House on this great business from the first hour that it was taken into consideration. It was a matter of great trust, and I will say with confidence that I have served the House in it not only with industry according to my ability, but with most exact faithfulness and service.

"Mr. Speaker, I will not dwell much upon justifying unto you my seeming variance at this time from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the difference between prosecutors and judges. How misbecoming the fervour would be in a judge, which perhaps was commendable in a prosecutor! Judges we are now, and must put on another personage. In prosecution upon probable grounds we are accountable only for our industry or remissness; but in judgment we are deeply responsible to God Almighty for its rectitude or obliquity. In cases of life, the judge is God's steward of the party's blood, and must give a strict account for every drop.

"Sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground of our

accusation, that spur to our prosecution, and that which should be the basis of my judgment of the Earl of Strafford as unto treason, is to my understanding quite vanished away.

"Therefore my humble advice is, that, laying aside this Bill of attainder, we may think of another, saving only life, such as may secure the state from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it as much by division concerning his punishment, as he hath endangered it by his practices. Let every man purge his heart clear of all passions; away with personal animosities, away with all flatteries to the people. Let not former vehemence of any against him, nor fear from thence that he cannot be safe while that man lives, be an ingredient in the sentence of any one of us.

"Of all the corruptives of justice, Mr. Speaker, I do before God discharge myself to the utmost of my power; and do, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood by this solemn protestation, that my vote goes not to the taking of the Earl of Strafford's life."

The question being then put for passing the Bill against the Earl, it was carried in the affirmative—204 against 59. The majority was large, but little more than one half of the members of the House were present, and it may be presumed that nearly the whole of the members who did not appear were unfavourable to the measure—for this unrighteous vote received at the time the vehement applause of the people. This is a period which may bear comparison with that of the reign of terror in the French revolution, when the cry for blood influenced the votes of a trembling parliament, and brought a man unconvicted by any law, to the scaffold.

From the time when the Bill attainting Strafford was proposed, serious dissensions appeared in the party which had hitherto cordially acted together in the Commons: a small number only had the courage to vote against the measure, for the fury of the people had now been stirred up by preachers in the pulpits throughout the metropolis.

The 59 who gave this vote became therefore proscribed men, their lives threatened, and their persons outraged if they dared to appear in public.

Hampden did not approve of this mode of proceeding Denzil Holles would take no share in it. Selden openly protested against it, and so did every lawyer of any reputation in the House, excepting St. John, who threw from him all law as well as decency, when he declared that Strafford must be hunted like a beast of prey.

It was with respect to a large number of those who were present in that division a most cowardly vote; the excited people drove many into that majority, and the fear of Strafford, even when in bonds, induced others who were loud in their railings against arbitrary tyranny, to become tyrants themselves in order to destroy him.

The cruel force put upon the King was not the least scandalous part of this transaction; Charles said with truth that Strafford was less to be pitied than he was; and the King's participation in the crime may the more easily be forgiven when it is recollected that, for the share he took in it, he never had his own forgiveness.

Macaulay, in one of the most interesting of his critical and historical essays, thus writes on the subject of Strafford's attainder: "We must not omit," he says, "to mention, that those who were afterwards the most

distinguished ornaments of the king's party supported the bill of attainder. It is almost certain that Hyde voted for it. It is quite certain that Falkland both voted and spoke for it." With regard to Falkland, the observation is unfortunately true, but it is equally true that nearly at the same time Lord Falkland, contrary to Hyde's opinion, gave a vote against the bishops, which he soon afterwards bitterly and publicly lamented, saying he had been deceived; and on the further progress of that measure he voted in direct opposition to the record of his first decision. As respects Hyde, surely, unless he deserves the greatest load of infamy that his most severe antagonists have ever attempted to cast upon him, he cannot have voted on the question of Strafford's attainder for treason in the way that Macaulay supposes; take for evidence the following passage in the first volume of his own History, vol. i. book iii.:— "In the afternoon Mr. Hyde going to a place called Piccadilly (which was a fair house for entertainment and gaming, with handsome gravel-walks with shade, and where were an upper and lower bowling-green, whither very many of the nobility and gentry of the best quality resorted, both for exercise and conversation), as soon as ever he came into the ground the Earl of Bedford came to him, and after some short compliments told him he was glad he was come thither, for there was a friend of his in the lower ground who needed his counsel. He then lamented 'the misery the kingdom was like to fall into.' He said, 'this business concerning the Earl of Strafford was a rock upon which we should all split, and that the passion of the parliament would

destroy the kingdom. That the king was ready to do all they could desire, if the life of the Earl of Strafford might be spared: that he was well content that he might be made incapable of any employment for the time to come; and that he should be banished, or imprisoned for his life, as they should choose; that if they would take his death upon them by their own judicatory, he would not interpose any act of his own conscience; but since they had declined that way, and meant to proceed by an Act of Parliament, to which he himself must be a party, that it could not consist with his conscience ever to give his royal assent to that Act, because, having heard all the testimony, he had heard nothing proved by which he could believe that he was a traitor, either in fact or in intention.'

"The Earl continued, 'that, though he yet was satisfied so well in his own conscience, that he believed he should have no scruple in giving his own vote for the passing it (for it yet depended in the Lords' House), he knew not how the king could be pressed to do an act so contrary to his own conscience, and that, for his part, he took all the pains he could to persuade his friends to decline their violent prosecution, and to be content with the remedy proposed by the king; and that, how difficult a work so ever he found it to be, he should not despair of it, if he could persuade the Earl of Essex to comply, but that he found him so obstinate that he could not in the least degree prevail with him; that he had left his brother, the Earl of Hertford (who was that day made a Marquis), in the lower ground walking with him, who he knew would do all he could;

and he desired Mr. Hyde to walk down into that place, and take his turn to persuade the Earl of Essex to what was reasonable; which he was very willing to do.

"He found the Marquis and the Earl walking there together, and no other persons with them. They both came to him; and the Marquis, after a short salutation, departed, and left the other two together. The Earl began merrily in telling him, 'that he (Hyde) had that morning performed a service which he knew he did not intend to do; that by what he had said against the Court of York he had revived their indignation against the Earl of Strafford; which he said was an effect of which he was sure Hyde had no mind to be the cause. Mr. Hyde confessed he had indeed no such purpose; and hoped that somewhat he had said might put other thoughts into them, to proceed in another manner upon his crimes; that he knew well that the cause of their having slept so long upon the Bill was their disagreement upon the point of treason, which the longer they thought of would administer the more difficulties. But if they declined that, they should all agree that there were crimes and misdemeanours evidently enough proved, to deserve so severe a censure as would absolutely take away all power from the Earl of Strafford that might prove dangerous to the kingdom, or mischievous to any person to whom he was not a friend.'

"The Earl shook his head, and answered, 'Stone dead hath no fellow;' adding a few observations as to the probability of the king granting him a pardon as soon as the parliament should be ended; and when Mr. Hyde was ready to reply to him, the Earl told him

familiarly 'that he had been tired that afternoon upon that argument, assuring him he would be ready to confer with him upon it at any other time.'" Surely, if Hyde had voted in favour of the attainder of Strafford on the ground of treason, he could not have held such a conversation with Lord Essex as stands here recorded by himself; and if he had so voted, the Earl of Essex would have offered a much more satisfactory reply to his arguments than the cold-blooded maxim to which he found it expedient to resort. The further observations of Lord Clarendon seem equally conclusive in acquitting him of this vote. "The Bill had not that warm reception in the House of Peers that was expected; but, after the first reading, rested many days; and being then read the second time, depended long at the Committee; few men believing, upon consideration of the affections and parts of the several lords, that, of the four score who were present at the trial, above twenty would ever have consented to that act; besides, it was not believed, now the formal trial and way of judicature was waived, the bishops would so stupidly (to say no worse) exclude themselves from voting in a law which was to be an Act of Parliament."

The Earl of Strafford was on the 12th of May brought from the Tower of London (where he had been a prisoner nearly six months) to the scaffold on Tower Hill. So enormous was the pressure of the crowd, that numbers were trampled under foot, and two of the scaffolds erected for spectators fell, crushing many people. The Earl had been advised to enter a coach, as it was apprehended that the populace would tear him in

pieces. He replied that it was quite indifferent to him whether he died in that way, or by the other mode of death which was prepared for him. He proceeded on foot dressed in deep mourning, wearing a long cloak, many nobles and other friends attending him; large bodies of the train-bands preceded him, and he looked, we are told, more like a general commanding an army than like a condemned traitor going to execution.

The populace at first interrupted his dying speech with insults, but his demeanour and his voice so touched upon the generous feeling inherent in the British character, that when he had concluded his speech and his prayer, there did not appear to be one ruffian left in the multitude, excepting the brutal hireling who performed the execution. The headsman (says the True Relation of the Manner of the Execution of Thomas, Earle of Strafford, published at the time), "letting fall the fatall axe, caught up his head and showed it to all the people; his eyes rolled up and downe, but his body stirred very little; but the bloudy executioner is to be admired at, for he laughed whilst he had the head in his hand."

"Of all his passions," says Clarendon, "his pride was most predominant; which a moderate exercise of ill-fortune might have corrected and reformed, and was by the hand of Heaven strangely punished, by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised—the people and Sir Harry Vane."

On the very spot where this scaffold stood, in little more than twenty years afterwards, another scaffold was erected, on which perished Sir Harry Vane.

On the 27th of May, Mr. Tailor, a barrister and a

burgess for Old Windsor, was brought upon his knees in the House of Commons, for words spoken in disparagement of the whole House touching the Earl of Strafford's death, saying, "they had committed murder with the sword of justice, and that he would not for a world have so much blood lie on his conscience as did on theirs for that sentence;" which words being proved by the evidence of the Mayor of Windsor, he was expelled the House, and voted incapable of ever being a parliament man, committed to the Tower during pleasure, to be carried down to Windsor, there to make recantation for those words, and to return back to the House of Commons to receive further sentence; and it was further ordered that a writ should presently issue for a new election in his room.

On the 29th of May Sir John Strangways, member for Weymouth, moved in the behalf of himself and the fifty-nine that voted against the Bill of attainder of the Earl of Strafford, that there might be some order taken, for that they went in fear of their lives, great abuses being lately offered them; and this he the rather moved, because his name was inserted and posted in the list of the Straffordians, though when the matter was in agitation he was absent, and at his home in Dorsetshire. The House took no steps in consequence of this application. About this time Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, Lord Treasurer, resigned his staff; and that office was put in commission, Sir John Bankes, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, being one of the Commissioners; the four others were the Lord Keeper, the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Newburgh, and Secretary Vane.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE GREAT REBELLION IN IRELAND IN OCTOBER, 1641, UNTIL THE SETTING UP OF THE ROYAL STANDARD AT NOTTINGHAM IN AUGUST, 1642.

THE first great political event which arrested the public attention after the execution of the Earl of Strafford, was the murderous outbreak of rebellion in Ireland. On the death of the Earl of Strafford, the government of that country devolved upon two Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace; this last was son-in-law of Sir John Bankes the Chief Justice, and member for Corfe Castle. The newly appointed Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Leicester, had not as yet arrived from England. A plot, which has been justly assimilated to that of the celebrated Sicilian Vespers, had been for some time extensively in preparation, under the active agency of one Roger O'Moore, descended of an ancient Irish family, and also allied to most of the gentlemen of the English pale. He made several journeys into all the four provinces of Ireland, communicating his intelligences from foreign courts, and the transactions of their priests and friars there, to the encouragement of this revolt. It had been resolved that on one day, the 23rd of October being selected for this purpose, the whole Roman Catholic population should rise and exterminate the Protestant population. In Dublin, Lord Macguire,

Baron of Inniskillen, was at the head of the conspiracy. He was appointed, with five others, to seize Dublin Castle and to head a general massacre. The plot would have taken effect as well in Dublin as in other parts of Ireland, if the conspirators could have restrained for a season the jovial character which belongs to their nation. On the night preceding the day fixed for their design, they had a select party drinking toasts to their next morning's success; and one of the guests was so shocked at the sanguinary nature of the projects which he heard enunciated, that, escaping for a short time with great difficulty from the convivial party, he informed the Lords Justices of their dangers. Thus was Dublin preserved from massacre and plunder. The Lord Macguire was seized that night, but Roger O'Moore and others of the chief conspirators escaped. In many other parts of Ireland the conspiracy took full effect, and on the night of the 23rd of October, and for many days and nights following, fugitives arrived of all ranks and stations, especially from the counties of Down, Fermanagh, Monaghan, Antrim, and Armagh; of those that escaped to the sea-towns (the inland being all lost) many perished by their hard and starving march, whilst of the multitude of those who got to Dublin, not one in five survived the hardships of their flight, insomuch that some being overdriven by the rebels, were forced to leave their infants and young children in the highway, and these were knocked on the head by their barbarous pursuers. Of such as got shipping for England, large numbers perished in the sea—so rude and tempestuous was the season. In five months' time no less, it was

said, than one hundred and fifty thousand lives were sacrificed. Applications were made and expresses sent to the king, then in Scotland, also to the Lord-Lieutenant the Earl of Leicester, and to both Houses of Parliament. These readily voted a potent relief, but by their debates and quarrels purposely retarded it, designing to throw the whole odium of this grievous calamity on the king. At the period of this intended attack on the Castle of Dublin, that fortress was furnished with arms for ten thousand men, but it could boast of no more than eighteen warders and forty halberdiers to use those weapons. Hugh MacMahon, who was arrested with Macguire, while waiting in a hall till the council should examine him, amused himself with chalking upon the floor figures of his friends and himself hanging upon gibbets in grotesque attitudes, a fate to which he declared himself to be very indifferent, since the success of their accomplices was perfectly certain in other parts of Ireland, though it had failed here. The amiable qualities of Roger O'Moore had rendered him (says Thomas Moore) generally popular. His handsome person, courteous manner, and various talents ensured him a welcome wherever he went; he was celebrated in the Irish songs, and it was a common saying among them, "Our blessed Lady be our help, and Roger O'Moore." Rapin, an historian as little favourable to the memory of King Charles and of Strafford as any of those whose writings are held in general estimation, thus expresses himself on the state of Ireland at this time:—"The Irish," says Rapin, "rise in rebellion at a time when they seem to have the least reason, since the government had never

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been more gentle to them than in the present reign." Upon the 1st of November Mr. Pym acquainted the House of Commons that there was a noble lord at the door, one of the king's Privy Council, who said that certain lords of the Privy Council, members of the House of Peers, had business of great importance to impart to the House, and desired to do it in person. The House thereupon ordered chairs to be set for those lords; and as they entered into the House they came uncovered, the Serjeant carrying the mace before them. Likewise the members of the House of Commons at their coming were uncovered, till their lordships were set in their chairs; which being done, both the House and the Lords sat covered.

The Lord Keeper first stood up and said, that the occasion of their coming thither was to impart what intelligence they had received out of Ireland, of a great conspiracy in that kingdom to raise a rebellion, which was discovered but the night before it was designed to be put in execution. Therefore, because it was a matter of great importance, requiring a speedy resolution, the House of Peers had thought it right to communicate this matter to the House. Then the Earl of Leicester (some time before made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland) stood up and spoke uncovered, and communicated letters and papers sent by the Lords Justices: which were to the effect that they had information of the shedding much blood of the Protestants there; and some of the rebels confess that all the Protestants were to be cut off, and not to save any British men, women, or children, being Protestants, alive, but to root them out of the nation;

that the time for putting this bloody design in execution was upon Saturday, the 23rd of October—a day dedicated to Ignatius the founder of the Society of the Jesuits.

The Lords Justices, in the concluding paragraph of their despatch, state that the whole army under their command consisted of no more than 2000 foot and 1000 horse; that these were dispersed in small garrisons; and there was no money to pay the soldiers with, so as to enable them to march or to act together in any manner. A standing committee of the two Houses, consisting of fifty-two members, was forthwith appointed for managing the affairs of Ireland.

On the 10th of August the king had set out for Scotland. He reached Edinburgh in four days, and was present, in fulfilment of a promise he had made, when the treaty entered into by him with that kingdom was ratified in their Parliament. The Parliament of England sent a committee of members of the two Houses to watch the proceedings of the king.

During the month of November the rebellion in Ireland was daily increasing. The English themselves of the *pale* joined with the Irish, having pretended for some time to be attached to the interest of England. Those of the *pale* were descendants of the English who settled there in the reign of Henry II., and who at the time of the Reformation continued in the Roman Catholic religion. The letters from the Lords Justices for assistance were frequent and pressing; the king most earnestly entreated both Houses to send men, money, and ammunition, strongly urging that he himself might be enabled to go to the aid of that desolated kingdom.

The Parliament gave, of course, no sanction to a request which would have placed the king at the head of an army, and they sent over succours so small, that they were more fit to continue the war than to end it. The new Lord-Lieutenant did not go to his post of responsibility and danger, but left the Lords Justices to defend as best they might a government unprovided with men or money, now assailed on all sides by attacks the most unexpected and undeserved. In the year next following, the services of Sir John Borlace were recognised, when a baronetcy was conferred upon him.

The king returned from Scotland, and made a public entry into the City of London on the 25th of November, 1641, dining at Guildhall on his way to the palace. Never had he or the most popular of his predecessors been received with greater acclamations; and this seems to have been in part occasioned by the conduct of the House of Commons, which had passed a vote three days before, highly insulting to the regal dignity, and painful to the personal feelings of the king. This remonstrance, as it was styled, was carried, after a debate of greater continuous duration than has often been known in the history of Parliament; upwards of fifteen hours were occupied in the discussion; many were driven away by fatigue, and on a division, the motion was carried by a majority of nine only. Cromwell told Lord Falkland he would have quitted the kingdom for ever if that motion had been lost.

In the kingdom at large a strong reaction had taken place in the public mind, and if the king could now have appealed to the country he would have had a very

different Parliament to deal with: all the real patriots would have been again returned with honour, but many who under that name were seeking their own selfish ends would have given place to better men.

The hands of the king were, however, tied by the fatal measure to which he had given his forced assent at the same moment when he authorised the destruction of Lord Strafford.

This was "The Act for the perpetual Parliament," as it is since called (says Clarendon). It is not credible (he adds) what an universal reception and concurrence this motion met with (which was to remove the land-marks and to destroy the foundation of the kingdom), insomuch as a committee was immediately appointed to withdraw and to prepare a Bill to that purpose; which was within a short time (less than an hour) brought into the House, and immediately twice read and committed: an expedition scarce ever heard of before in Parliament; and the next day, with as little agitation and the contradiction of very few voices, engrossed and carried up to the Lords. With them it had some debate, and amendments which were delivered at a conference, the principal whereof was, "That the time should be limited and not left indefinite, and that it should not be dissolved within two years, except by consent of both Houses."

This alteration was highly resented in the House of Commons, and they stoutly insisted on their own Bill. The Lords, in that hurry of noise and confusion when the meetings of the people were so frequent, consented likewise to it; and so by the importunity, and upon

the undertaking of persons he then most trusted, in the agony of the other dispatch, the king was induced to include that Bill in the Commission with the Act of Attainder, and they were both passed together.

When the king could neither dissolve nor prorogue the Parliament, the regal power was transferred to the majority of the House of Commons. The Lords were as powerless as the king; if they concurred with the Commons, a semblance of constitutional order continued; if they differed, a mob poured in upon them, and they yielded almost without a struggle.

The Commons had voted that a body of troops should be sent into Ireland; but as they were extremely jealous of the king, they sought an expedient to hinder him from being concerned in the raising of the forces. They were apprehensive, if the levies were made in the usual manner—that is, by enlisting volunteers—these troops would be too much at the King's devotion. This expedient was to levy soldiers by way of compulsion, called *pressing*, and to pass an Act for that purpose. A Bill was accordingly brought in and sent up to the Lords.

On the 9th of June in the preceding summer, the King had called up to the House of Peers George Lord Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol. The part he had taken on the attainder of the Earl of Strafford had separated him for ever from the dominating party in the House of Commons. They had ordered copies of his speech to be burnt by the common hangman, and were meditating his expulsion from their house. He became for a time the most intimate adviser of the crown, and induced the king to secure the services of Hyde and

Culpepper, also of Lord Falkland, though Falkland disliked Lord Digby.

The beneficial result of the adhesion of these eminent men to the king's party, was greatly counterbalanced by the jealousy which was immediately entertained against them in the minds of the majority of the House. Out of doors also, Hyde in particular was exposed to outrages and insult.

The month of December had passed in continual tumults, excited by organized mobs, who assailed the palace of the king as well as the Houses of the Legislature, and it is but too probable, not to say certain (says Rapin), that they were caused and directed by some of the leaders of the opposite party to the king. The expulsion of the bishops from the House of Lords was now the great subject of popular outcry. They were grossly insulted, pulled out of their carriages, stripped of their sacerdotal vestments, and hardly escaped with their lives. Not daring to continue their attendance in Parliament, twelve of them, including the Archbishop of York, addressed a protestation to the House of Peers, which was presented by the Lord Keeper Littleton. This being communicated to the House of Commons, those who signed this protest were immediately charged with high treason, and the whole twelve ordered to appear at the bar of the House of Lords forthwith. This mandate they obeyed, appearing at the bar of the House of Lords, humbly on their knees, at 8 o'clock at night, after which exhibition, ten of them were sent by water in a barge to the Tower, whilst the other two, in consideration of their age and infirmities, were allowed

the indulgence of remaining in the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod.

Thus, with the aid of the mob, the House of Commons had attained more than regal power, and would have been satisfied, perhaps, to have left to Charles the title of King: having certainly at this time no design either to depose or to destroy him. Whether he could, by a uniform submissive course, have escaped the fate of the unhappy Louis XVI. must ever remain doubtful. The English are thought to be less sanguinary in their days of political frenzy than the French, but undoubtedly the history of London in 1641 bears very many points of similarity with the history of Paris from the year 1791 to 1793.

The civil war in England afterwards took a very different turn from the course of the French Revolution. The aristocracy of England did not forsake the throne and fly the country, nor did they yield up tamely their castles and fair domains at the demand of savage plunderers; a happy distinction existed between these nobles and the privileged orders of France, the cry of "peace to the cottage, war to the castle," could not be raised with any chance of success in a land where the castle was the cottager's shelter, and its splendour his pride.

On one occasion, shortly before Christmas, the mob broke into Westminster Abbey, intending to destroy the organ and the ornaments therein; and when driven away with difficulty, they declared they would soon return in much larger numbers and level the whole fabric to the ground.

The surrender of the rights of the bishops was now inevitable, for the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Culpepper, who had been considered a friend of the church, besought the queen to induce Charles to withdraw his opposition to the measure which deprived them of their votes; and the king, to secure the safety of his wife, who was anxious to escape from England, gave this further extorted assent. But the great question of the militia still remained undecided, and it would be as easy for the majority in parliament to excite the multitude on this subject as upon the others, on which they had already gained such signal triumphs. The King could therefore remain in his metropolis only as the crowned servant of the House of Commons.

On the evening of the 4th of January, 1642, Charles made his rash attempt for seizing five members of the House, which act none had so much cause to complain of as the best friends and truest well-wishers of the Crown: the attempt was illegal, and would have been an act of tyranny if it had been accomplished, violating at once the privilege of parliament and the constitutional doctrine which gives immunity to the occupant of the throne. If there were any persons in the whole kingdom who had less right than others to complain of this attempt at tyranny, those persons were the majority in the House of Commons, including these five accused members, who in the week before had sent ten bishops to the Tower, by water, in a cold frosty night in December, no preparation having been made for their decent accommodation in their prison, and this

on a charge of high treason, alleged to have been committed against themselves.

Lord Digby has always had the chief odium of this unhappy exploit cast upon him, though Charles had too much the real honour of a gentleman in his character ever to shift responsibility from his own shoulders, or to cast reproach on those whose advice or endeavours in his service produced effects contrary to what had been intended; it will never be known therefore by whom this project was suggested to the king.

It is by no means improbable that Lord Digby, having in his eye the monstrous act of tyranny which the two Houses of Parliament had just committed against the twelve bishops, did propose to the king this wild project of retaliation.

On the preceding day, January 3rd, Herbert, the Attorney-General, by command of the king, had presented at the table of the House of Lords articles of impeachment against the Lord Kimbolton, a peer, also against Mr. Denzill Holles, Sir Arthur Hazlerigg, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Stroud. Lord Digby had promised the king that when this was done he would rise in his place and support the proposition. If this had been done, Lord Clarendon informs us that other peers would undoubtedly have supported it also. We may perhaps justly infer therefore that this was Hyde's plan for proceeding; it was much less violent, but it may be doubtful whether it was more legal, than the other; at all events, the head of the law, who was expected, and it is said had promised the king, to rise and give sanction to this mode of action, said not a

word; and when the Lord Keeper remained mute it could hardly have advanced the king's service if Lord Digby had risen to take the lead in a discussion on a point of law.

A more grave accusation arises against Lord Digby in regard to this transaction. He was, as it happened, sitting in the House of Peers next to the Lord Kimbolton when these articles were brought up and exhibited at the table; and Lord Digby took occasion to observe to his noble neighbour, "These rash advisers will inevitably ruin the King."

The records of history present to us few such characters as that of Lord Digby, combining with every grace of person a mind amply cultivated, courage the most intrepid, and manners the most engaging. One blot mars the whole of this fair picture when exhibited in the pages of historians—who accuse him of the want of truth.

On the 5th of January the King, anticipating the resort to his palace, which was to be expected as a consequence of his baffled attempt, went into the City without guards: and after meeting the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, with many of the citizens in Guildhall, to whom he gave the best explanation he could of his attempt of the foregoing day, he invited himself to dine with one of the sheriffs, and was there received with the respect due to his courage, the expressions of reproach as he passed being chiefly confined to the word "Privilege," and these were not very generally or very bitterly enunciated.

This present Monday, the 10th of January (says Rushworth), the king, with the queen and their royal

offspring, left Whitehall. His majesty, being in his coach, called the captain of the guard of Trainbands unto him and said, "I thank you for your attendance, and for what you have done, and do now dismiss you." So his majesty went to Hampton Court.

On the 12th the king moved to Windsor. On the 9th of February back to Hampton Court. On the 18th the king, with the queen and their daughter, the Princess of Orange, arrived at Dover. On the 23rd the queen and princess embarked for Holland, the queen carrying the crown jewels with her. It does appear surprising, that the vigilance of parliament had not been directed to the probability of such an attempt as had now been accomplished. The defeat of this scheme for carrying the regalia out of the kingdom, would have thrown as great a weight of obloquy on Charles and his royal consort as any of the calamitous events which had as yet befallen them. The attention of parliament had in fact been absorbed by their anxiety to prevent the removal from the kingdom of the Prince of Wales.

Charles stood upon the seashore as long as the vessel which bore from him his wife and child continued in sight. On the 25th he rested at Canterbury.

He had given his assent, by commission, to the Bill which took from bishops the right of sitting in parliament, before the queen's departure, in order to secure her from the risk of molestation. On the 26th Charles came to Greenwich, having sent for the Prince of Wales to meet him there; and this was effected, notwithstanding the endeavours of the leaders in parliament to prevent it.

Hyde had been sent, with another member of the House and a peer, to deliver a message to the king on the subject of his children.

Hyde was selected for this purpose out of spite by the leaders of the parliament, who suspected but were not yet fully aware of the extent of the intimacy which existed between Charles and Ned Hyde. These messengers found the king at Canterbury, and when they delivered their message, which was at night, the king took no notice of Mr. Hyde, as if he was much known to him, and returned a very sharp reply. Later in the night Hyde saw the King, when he was partly undressed, and Hyde now besought him to withdraw his angry answer. This was done, the King appointing Hyde to meet him next day at Greenwich, when Lord Falkland and Culpepper were to come there. Hyde had a public audience at Greenwich in the morning, the King's manner to him expressing nothing beyond courtly civility; but in the afternoon the King contrived a meeting with him in the Privy gallery, and locking the door with his own key, said "We will not now be disturbed, for there is no man in the house now who hath a key to this door." The King then entered into a long and most confidential communication, lamenting his having consented to the Bill concerning the bishops, which he said he was prevailed upon to do for his wife's security, but he should now be beyond the power of those who would intimidate him: that he should go for two or three days to Theobalds, to give time to his servants to attend him northward. He then settled a course of correspondence with Hyde, assuring him that no person but himself and

his two friends, Falkland and Culpepper, should know of this intercourse, and that he would himself transcribe every paper in his own hand, before he would show it to any man. Mr. Hyde told him that he writ a very ill-hand, which would give his majesty too much trouble to transcribe: but Charles answered that he would soon learn to read the hand, if it were writ at first with a little more care, and nobody should see it but himself. "His majesty," says Clarendon, "continued so firm to this resolution, that though the Declarations from the Houses shortly after grew so voluminous that the answers frequently contained five or six sheets of paper very closely writ, his majesty always transcribed them with his own hand, which sometimes took him up two or three days and a good part of the night before he produced them to the Council."

Whilst the King held this discourse with Hyde in the Privy gallery, many of the lords were come from London, and, not finding the King, the Earls of Essex and Holland, the first then holding the office of Lord Chamberlain, the other that of Groom of the Stole, having by their offices keys to the gallery, opened the door and went in, and, seeing nobody there, walked to the farther end, where, in a turning walk, the King and Mr. Hyde were; and though they presently drew back, the King himself, as well as Mr. Hyde, was a little discomposed, and said "I am very sorry for this accident—we must not stay longer here; forget not what I have said." The two earls, smiling, saluted Mr. Hyde. All pretence of mystery with regard to Hyde's intimate relations with the King was now at an end; it is not very clear

that this secrecy had been advantageous either to the King or to his confidential adviser. Hyde now became an object of great hatred to the dominant party, and it was determined by the leaders of the House to commit Lord Falkland, Culpepper, and Hyde to the Tower; but they resolved not to put this project into execution until they could catch them all three together in their places in parliament. This becoming known to the parties concerned, they never were to be found all three in the House of Commons at the same time, during the short remaining period when it was safe for them to go there at all.

On the 3rd of March, the King, leaving Theobalds, arrived at Royston; thence journeying very slowly, by Newmarket, Stamford, Newark, and Doncaster, he arrived at York on the 19th; he had at first a very small train of officers or courtiers to attend him. But intending here to establish his court, he sent summonses to those whose attendance he had a right to command, including all privy counsellors. Sir John Bankes was amongst the first who obeyed the summons.

The Houses of Parliament, much diminished in numbers, became now more and more tyrannical from day to day.

"On the 3rd of April, 1642, the House was this day informed," says Rushworth, "by the depositions of several witnesses at the bar, that Edward Sanderford, a tailor of the city of London, said that the Earl of Essex was a traitor, that all the Parliament were traitors, that the Earl of Warwick was a traitor, and he wished his heart in his boots; that he wished Mr. Pym

(calling him King Pym) and Sir John Hotham both hanged."

This evidence being given before the said Sanderford, he was asked what he could say for himself, who, being not able to make any defence, was commanded with the witnesses to be withdrawn; and afterwards, the House taking the whole matter into serious consideration, commanding that the said Sanderford should be again brought to the Bar, did, by the Speaker, pronounce this judgment against him :—

1. That the said Edward Sanderford should be fined to our Sovereign Lord the King in the sum of one hundred marks.

2. That he shall stand in the pillory in Cheapside and Westminster, with a paper on his head declaring his offence.

3. That when he shall be taken off the pillory in each place, he shall be whipped from thence at a cart's-tail, the first day to the Fleet, and the second day to Bridewell.

4. That he shall stand committed to the House of Correction in Bridewell, there to be put to work during his life.

This was a sentence passed by those patriots who had so justly denounced the iniquities of the Star Chamber; and when they thus, being at the same time prosecutors and judges, dealt forth their vengeance on the libels and slanders of the humbler classes, they could not of course overlook the trespasses of those in higher station. Many were now punished; and, amongst others, Sir Edward Herbert, Attorney-General, for acting in obedience to

the commands of the king, received this sentence on the 23rd of April, 1643 :—

1. That Sir Edward Herbert, his Majesty's Attorney-General, is by sentence of this House disabled and made incapable of being a member, assistant, or pleader in either House of Parliament, and of all offices, saving that of Attorney-General, which he now holds.

2. That Mr. Attorney-General shall be forthwith committed to the prison of the Fleet, during the pleasure of this House.

It was at this period that, by order of a Committee or Commission appointed by the House, the sign of a tavern, the Golden Cross, at Charing Cross, was taken down as superstitious and idolatrous.

A petition was framed in London against the settling of the militia, as proposed in the House of Commons; to this George Binson, a citizen of great reputation for wealth and wisdom, was a subscriber. The Commons committed him, and preferred an impeachment against him for "advising and contriving that petition." The gentleman defended himself, saying that it had been always lawful in a modest way to petition for the removal or prevention of any grievance. How reasonable soever this defence, the House of Peers adjudged him "to be disfranchised, and incapable of any office in the City; to be committed to the common gaol of Colchester (for his reputation was so great in London, that they would not trust him in a City prison); and fined him three thousand pounds."

The court of the King at York was daily increasing in point of consideration, as well from numerical strength

as from the rank and character of those who formed its numbers; whilst at Westminster, even in debates of the highest consequence, there was not usually present in the House of Commons the fifth part of their just numbers,, and very often not above a dozen or thirteen in the House of Peers. Great uneasiness pervaded the Parliament at this time, and in proportion with the decrease of their numbers, a dangerous spirit of reckless innovation seemed to gain ascendancy in their deliberations and decisions. In one day nine peers quitted Westminster for York, and Denzill Holles brought up to the bar of the Lords a bill of impeachment against them.

The King, justly incensed at the conduct of the Lord Keeper Littleton, who continued in London acting basely if not with treachery, now sent an order to the Lord Falkland and to Hyde, to require the Great Seal from him, as to which the king was very positive, though he was not resolved to what hand to commit it. His Majesty wished them to consider "whether he should give it to the Lord Chief Justice Bankes, or into the hands of Mr. Selden; and to send their opinions to him." The order was positive for requiring the seal from the present officer, but they knew not who to advise for a successor. The Lord Chief Justice they thought not equal to that charge in a time of so much disorder, though otherwise he was a man of great abilities and unblemished integrity; they did not doubt Mr. Selden's affection for the king, but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place if it were offered to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years

enjoyed his ease, which he loved; was rich; and would not have made a journey to York, or have lain out of his own bed, for any preferment whatsoever.

It was therefore offered neither to one nor the other, and it became the anxious endeavour of Hyde to bring Lord Littleton to York; for if he came not, and the seal came without him, the king being positively determined to have it, it must be placed in the hands of some one, and there could be no hands so suitable to Hyde's future prospects as those of Littleton—a man justly distrusted by the King and despised by all parties, so that his removal could be effected at any moment, whatever might be the course of events.

Hyde had prepared the Lord Keeper for a message from the King, but had not told him, and probably did not know himself, the particulars of this mission. On a Saturday after the House of Lords had risen, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Elliot, a groom of the bedchamber to the Prince, a young and vigorous man, came from York to the Lord Keeper, and found him alone in the room where he used to sit. He delivered to him a letter from the King, written with his own hand, wherein he required him, with many expressions of kindness and esteem, "to make haste to him, and if his indisposition would not suffer him to make such haste as the occasion required, that he should deliver the seal to the person who gave him the letter, who, being a strong young man, would make such haste as was necessary, and he might make his journey by those degrees which his health required."

The Lord Keeper was by no means prepared for so

peremptory a message or for so active a messenger. His reply was to the effect that he would deliver the seal to no other hands than the King's. Thus far the stories told by the two parties, who were alone actors in this affair, agree; afterwards they differ very materially. Elliot's story relates, that when Littleton refused to deliver it, he (Elliot) produced a pistol, pointed it at the Lord Keeper, and seizing the desired prize, threatened his lordship with death if he gave any alarm or made resistance. The controversy lasted long; whether convinced by Elliot's argument or by his pistol, Littleton yielded, and Elliot reached York in a wonderfully short space of time, though he had a very serious fall from a horse in the course of his journey. The king was delighted with the success of this enterprise, and did not, perhaps, much care in what manner the seal was obtained, so that it was again in his own possession. The Parliament were seriously depressed at the loss, and it is clear that Littleton had blinded them with assurances of fidelity to their party, which protestations were perhaps genuine when he made them, for he was waiting to see which side would prove the strongest.

When the seal was gone, the Lord Keeper was obliged to follow it; for, had he remained, he would most certainly have been impeached: and the story of the pistol he would in that case have been as forward to uphold as he was now anxious to contradict it. Hyde followed him in his flight, and sedulously protested to the king that Elliot's story was a romance, affirming also that Littleton had solemnly promised him to come to York—and so he had, but Falkland did not believe

believe him; and the King, and the Earl of Strafford, and the Bishops had all been in their turn the victims of Littleton's weakness and duplicity.

As to the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, since there was no one then at York who could supply the place he was occupying, the king's service would have received no advantage from his elevation to another office, for he was already unremitting in his attendance, and no preferment could have increased his loyalty and zeal; but with regard to Selden, his name and reputation would have been an important new accession to the royalist party. To detach men of such character and qualifications from the Roundheads, ought to have been the great and unceasing effort of the confidential advisers of the crown. The Marquis of Hertford at an earlier period had communicated to Selden the king's wish for his attendance at York, but this communication conveyed no offer of his entering upon the service of the crown, and the reply of Selden rested not only on the state of his health, but also on the obligations of his active duties in the House of Commons. The acceptance of the Great Seal, which at that time could have involved no laborious duties, would have closed Selden's career in the House of Commons with a dignity suitable to his high attainments; and if the offer had, in fact, been made, considerations much higher than those of the highest preferment, would very probably have induced him to have added one more to the examples of eminent men, who in this particular profession shine as brightly in their ripest age, as in the earlier periods of their able and energetic efforts. Selden lived nearly fifteen years after this time.

A correspondence between several of the chiefs of the parliamentary party and Sir John Bankes commenced at this period. These eminent persons felt the dangerous pressure that was upon them in London, but they could not resolve to join the court at York. These letters are all autograph, some of them evidently written in haste, and, consequently, not very easily read; Lord Say and Seale's handwriting in particular will defy any but the most practised decipherer.

The trouble and distraction which possessed the Parliament at this time was very great, and their dejection such, that the same day when Littleton fled, the Earl of Northumberland (who had been of another temper) moved that a committee might be appointed to consider how there might be an accommodation between the king and his people, for the good, happiness, and safety of both king and kingdom: which committee was appointed accordingly.

"EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR JOHN BANKES.

"My Lord,—You being in a place where I hope your wise and moderate councells may contribute towards the composure of our unhappie differences, makes me desirous a little to expresse my sense unto your Lo^p. It is too apparent that neither King nor Parlament are without fears and jealousies; the one of having his authoritie and just rights invaded, the other of looseing that libertie which free borne subjects ought to injoy, and the laws of the land do allow us. The allteration of government is apprehended on both sides; we believe that those persons who are most powerfull with the King

do endevor to bring Parlaments to such a condition that they shall only be made instruments to execute the commands of the King, who were established for his greatest and most supreame councel. I dare say it is farre from our thoughts to change the forme of government, to invade upon the King's just prerogative, or to leave him unprovided of as plentifull a revenue as either he or any of his predecessors have ever injoyed. This, I am confident, will be made manifest if the King please but to grant some few humble desires of ours, w^ch^ had beene long since presented to him, had we not receaved so many interuptions by the harshe messages sent from his Ma^ty^ to his Parlament; God forbid that either King or Parlament should by power and force goe about to cure the present distempers, for that course can produce nothing but miserie, if not ruine, both to King and people. We are very sensible of that high breache of priviledge in refusing the members of our owne house to come when we send for them, which is an indignitie not suffered by any inferior Court, and for this contempt we have orderd that the Lord Savill shall be excluded from voteing or sitting in our house dureing this session.

"I have too long troubled your Lo^p^, and shall therefore end this letter w^th^ assurance of my being

"Your Lo^ps^ faithfull freind and servant,

"A. Northumberland.

"London, May 19, 1642."

The affectionate terms of address to the Chief Justice which appear in the next letter, the writer of which was Denzell Holles, are explained in the following passage of Lord Clarendon's history:—

"Denzill Holles, the younger son and younger brother of the Earls of Clare, was as much valued and esteem'd by the whole party as any man, as he deserved to be, being of more accomplished parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted against the Court and the Duke of Buckingham, and his long imprisonment and sharp prosecution afterwards, upon that account, of which he retain'd the memory with acrimony enough. But he would in no degree intermeddle in the counsel or prosecution of the Earl of Strafford, who had married his sister, which made him a stranger to all those consultations, though it did not otherwise interrupt the friendship he had with the most violent of those prosecutors. In all other contrivancies he was in the most secret counsels with those who most govern'd, and was respected by them with very submiss applications as a man of authority. He sat for Dorchester, and was one of the five accused members."

"To my honorable frend Sr JOHN BANKES, Knt, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas."

This letter was written on the table of the House of Commons whilst a debate was in progress there.

"My Lord,—Though the messenger be very hasty, I must make him stay to carry along my most affectionate thancks for your noble care of me, letting me know what interpretation some words spoken by me here receive in the North, concerning my dislike of an accomodation; of wch I shall give your Lop a satisfactory account, letting you know in what sense and upon what occasion such an expression fell from me, which was

this :—When we were to send y^e^ Committees into Yorkshire, I moved they might first addresse themselves to the K^g^, w^ch^ was strongly opposed by some, and with violence, who a little too bitterly glanced at me, as if I intended some underhand accomodation ; whereupon I stood up and said that I knew not what they meant by such an accomodation, if it was a complying and a goeing lesse, and a departing from our grounds, as if wee had done something that wee could not justify, I abhorred the thought of it, but if it was a good understanding betweene the K^g^ and the Parlament, it was that which myself and every good man did desire more than his own life ; and this I doe assure yo^r^ Lo^p^ was the substance of what I said, and I thinck the very words, of w^ch^ I give you this account because I will satisfy you as my noble frend, otherwise it is ordinary to me, nor doth it at all trouble me to be misreported. By what I send hefe enclosed yo^r^ L^p^ sees upon what termes wee stand, how far from what you wish in your letter, yet am I confident the Parlament will most readily cast itself at the K^gs^ feet with all faithfull and loyall submission, upon the first appearance of change in his Ma^ty^, that he will forsake those counsells which carry him on to so high a dislike and opposition to their proceedings by mispossessing himself of them. Believe it, my Lord, wee shall ever be faithfull and affectionate to his royal person, though wee follow that dictate of nature which makes us provide for our safety, and of duty to take care of the common wealth, w^ch^ hath entrusted us, and this but against the common enemies of K^g^ and Parlament and people, who, by insinuating into his Ma^ty^,

would divide him from his Parlament and people, and make them destroy one another. I beseech your Lo^p^ pardon this hasty scribble, written upon y^e^ clercks desk, not to lose this opportunity, which shall onely tell you one truth more, that I am and ever will be

"Your L^ps^ faithfull and most affectionate servant,

"DENZELL HOLLES.

"Westminster, 21st May, 1642."

The next of these communications, written ten days after the last, is a letter from the Earl of Essex, sealed with two seals bearing his arms and coronet, addressed,

"For my honorable frend S^r^ JOHN BANCK, Lord Cheif Justis of the Common Pleas, and one of his Maj^tie^ most honrable prive Concel.

"My lo,—What expressions at any tyme I shall mack, I hope I shall never want an honnest hart to mack goud, espetially to you, whow I am confident is soe full of honor and justis. The great misfortuns that threaten this kingdom none looks upon it with a sadder hart than I, for my perticuler my consience assurs mee I have noe ends of my owne, but what may tend to the publick good of the King and kingdom, which shall bee my dayly prayers, and whensoever that happy day shall appeare, the world may judg of mee by my actions, for the height of my ambition and desires is, to lead a quiet and retired lyf. I know none but must abhor this difference between his Ma^tie^ and the Parlement, but delinquents, papists, and men that desiar to mack their fortuns by the troubles of the land. My lo., my desier is that you will judg him by his actions, that is,

"Your Lo^ips^ faythfull frend to be commanded,

"ESSEX.

"Essex hous, this 31^th^ of May, 1642."

"His pride supplied the want of ambition, his vanity disposed him to be his Excellency, and his weakness to believe that he should be the general in the Houses as well as in the field, and be able to govern their counsels and restrain their passions, as well as to fight their battles, and that by this means he should become the preserver, and not the destroyer, of the king and kingdom. With this ill-grounded confidence he launched out into that sea, where he met with nothing but rocks and shelves, and from whence he could never discover any safe port to harbour in.

"A weak judgment, and some vanity and much pride will hurry a man into as unwarrantable and as violent attempts as the greatest and most unlimited and insatiable ambition will do." *

During this month of May and in the preceding month, declarations and remonstrances had issued from the Parliament, of enormous length, and worded with much asperity of language. To these Hyde had furnished answers whilst continuing resident in London, and the communications between London and York were carried on with a degree of celerity which, even in the present day, will be considered creditable to the horsemanship of the young gentry of that time, who undertook the conveyance of these despatches. When letters were sent after twelve o'clock on a Saturday night, the king's replies to them would be received in London by ten o'clock on Monday morning. Hyde's replies equalled, and sometimes exceeded, the wearisome length of the original Declarations, and the king, who punctually fulfilled his promise of copying all these with

* Clarendon's History.

his own hand, had indeed a most laborious task to perform. Hume, the historian, ignorant of these private circumstances, had supposed that the king and Lord Falkland, working together, were the joint authors of these compositions.

On one occasion Lord Falkland and Culpepper, under the superintendence of the king, wrote an answer to a very important declaration. It was that which was presented to the king as the humble petition and advice of both Houses of Parliament, with nineteen propositions, sent unto his Majesty the 2nd day of June, 1642.

The proposed reply was forwarded by those two private councillors of the king to Hyde for publication: He did not publish it; and when he came to York, an observation fell from Falkland, to the effect that Hyde did not like this reply because he had not written it himself. Clarendon, in his Life, tells us that one reason of his not approving this reply was, that it contained a flagrant mistake in point of law in a portion of the reply written by Culpepper; but having been so reproached, he now sent it to the press and published it—which seems very singular—without correcting the mistake he had detected in its contents.

This reply of the king's is better known than any other of those that he was advised to give, though Clarendon was perhaps right in the objections which he offered. One passage of the reply runs thus:—

"These demands being past, we may be waited on bareheaded; we may have our hand kissed, the stile of majesty continued to us, and the king's authority declared by both Houses may be still the stile of your

commands. We may have swords and maces carried before us, and please ourself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (and yet even these twigs would not long flourish when the stock upon which they grew were dead), but as to true and real power, we should remain but the outside—but the picture—the sign of a king."

Edmund Burke appears to have had this passage in his mind when delivering one of his brilliant speeches.

"THE EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR JOHN BANKES.

"My Lord,—I have received your Lo^rs letter of the 8 present, and cannot but expresse to you my sorrow to see that impedimented w^ch we^ so much desire. I could with all my hart wishe that harshe remonstrances and replyes might be forboore on all sides, and that some gentler wayes might be tryed to begett a better understanding betwixt the king and his parlam.; for many times councells that are composed of a greate number of persons will be more wrought upon by a few sweete and gentle words, than by any force or violence than can be used; I am confident that by such a course the king may soone gaine his own contentment, and bring peace unto the whole kingdome; why should not all meanes be endeavoured to procure a happie accomodation; what can be so mischevous, so destructive to all as a civill warre, which the preparations in the North do threaten? What evor you hear of the mony and horse that are here providing, believe me, my Lord, it is not intended but for our own defence, and I hope we shall never be put to employ them; lett us but have our lawes, liberties, and priviledges secured unto us, and

lett him perish that seekes to deprive the king of any part of his prerogative, or that authoritie which is due unto him. If our fortunes be to fall into troubles, I am sure fewe (excepting the king himselfe) will suffer more than I shall do, therefore for my own private considerations, as well as for the publike good, no man shall more earnestly endevour an agreement between the king and his people than

"Your Lopps faithfull freind and servant,

"A. NORTHUMBERLAND.

"London, June 14, 1642."

"Of those who were of the king's council, and who stayed and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of Northumberland may well be reckoned the chief, in respect of the antiquity and splendour of his family, his great fortune and estate, and the general reputation he had among the greatest men, and his great interest by being High Admiral of England.

"Though he was of a family that had lain under frequent blemishes of want of fidelity to the Crown, and his father had been long a prisoner in the Tower, under some suspicion of having some knowledge of the gunpowder treason; yet this Lord's father was no sooner dead, than the king poured out his favours upon him in a wonderful measure.

"He began with conferring the Order of the Garter upon him, and shortly after made him of his Privy Council. When a great fleet of ships was prepared, he sent the Earl of Northumberland Admiral of that fleet; and after he had in that capacity exercised him-

self a year or two, the king made him Lord High Admiral of England.

"He was in all his deportment a very great man, and that which looked like formality, was a punctuality in preserving his dignity from the invasion and intrusion of bold men, which no man of that age so well preserved himself from.

"Though his notions were not large or deep, yet his temper and reserve in speaking got him the reputation of an able and a wise man: which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more absolutely obeyed, and no man had fewer idle words to answer for, and in debates of importance he always expressed himself very pertinently.

"If he had thought the king as much above him, as he thought himself above other considerable men, he would have been a good subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the king, made him liable to the impressions, which they who approached him by those addresses of reverence and esteem, that usually insinuate into such natures, made in him; so that after he was first prevailed upon not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to, he was with the more facility led to concur in what in duty and fidelity he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done, and so he concurred in all the councils which produced the rebellion, and stayed with them to support it." *

Of the same date with the Earl of Northumberland's second letter is a letter to the Chief Justice from Lord Wharton.

* Clarendon's History.

"My L^{d},—I must confesse myselfe much endebted to your L^{dp} for the honour of yours of the 3^{d} of this month, and thatt if it were in my power I should repay you with interest for soe long forbearance of my acknowledgment.

"I will nott informe your L^{dp} in relation of the particulars that passe heere, for I know you are much better furnished from other hands, packetts flying hence every houre; and besides, as your L^{dp} cannot but have often observed it, wee are at the old rate of spending many hours and dayes in doeing of a little; soe that itt is nott difficult on the track of a parliamentary way for yor Lord^{p} to guesse to night (by what you heard of yesterday) whát wee shall doe to-morrow.

"That which I shall offer to your L^{dp} is my complayntes that there beeing heere and with you soe many that have publique interests in the peace of this kingdom, how or why itt comes to passe thatt things appeare and arise every day more desperate. Many men heere I know, and I doe seriously professe I dare nott in my privatest thoughts suspect or charge any of them for having disloyall hearts to his Ma^{ty}, or turbulent hearts to this state. And on the other side I cannot butt thinke thatt there are diverse with you, and those of g^{t} eminency whoe doe wish and drive at an accomodation.

"How is itt then, hath all this kingdome noe persons prudent enough according to theyr affections to prevent the ruine coming upon us; or is itt want of industry, or is itt the wantonness of some few interested or unprovided people to pull downe more in one day, then the rest can build up in years? Or is itt a judgement upon

us immediately from the hand of God, for which noe naturall or politique reason can be given? Whattever it bee, itt were worth the pains of one of your observation to inquire into itt, for if the cause of the disease were knowne, the cure would be much the easyer and more speedy. This I would likewise commend to you as well as that.

"Nott to trouble your L^dp farther, if having found the cause, you canne direct mee to bee serviceable in the cure, I will approve myself to bee one, that is as desirous as any to preserve the peace of the kingdom; and lett the successe or acceptance and opinion of my endeavours bee whatt itt will, I can with cheerfullness acquitt my selfe to God and my own conscience: thatt I have nott driven att any advantage for myself, but have steer'd my poore course in thatt way which out of (*illegible*) I thought would in the close tend to the settled honor and happyness of his Ma^ty and his posterity, and the good and peace of the Commonwealth.

"This hath and shall be my ayme and prayer, and if it happen otherwise in the disposition itt shall please God to make of us, itt will bee hard to lay that to mee (amongst others) for a fault, which will bee my trouble.

"My Lord I ame,

"Your most faythfull frend and servant,

"P. WHARTON.

"14th June, 1642."

There are amongst these papers many autograph copies of letters of the Chief Justice addressed to these

his correspondents. But large portions of these copies are written in short hand, and this of an ancient character, which is not used and little known in the present day. One of these being more easily deciphered than the others, is here inserted, addressed to one of the members for Corfe Castle.

"G. GREEN, ESQR.

"Good Mr. Green,—Your letter dated 17th May, I received and doe approve your advice, if it could be effected, but so long as there be these many differences between the king and the House of Parliament I doe not see it possible to draw him neerer, and the remonstrances whereof you writ, and the severall declarations, answeres, and replies between the king and the housses heretofore made, have taken up much time, publish our differences to forreign states, occasion exasperations and misunderstandings, and instead of curing the malidies of the Commonwealth make the wounds deeper and wider; and the puting in of the militia in execution in the South makes the king thinke of gards for his person, and of having of horse and foot in readiness as your Committees have informed you; it grieves my hart to see these distractions; I have adventured far to speak my mind freely according to my conscience, and what hazards I have runne of the king's indignation in a high measure, you will heare by others; all men give not the same advice, and when former counsells are rooted, others counsells come too late: heere is yesterday published a new declaration in answare to the Houses' declaration, touching the militia; heere be warrants sent

forth commanding gentlemen and others to appear in equipage, which I protest I did never see nor hear of untill they were printed, and the resolution touching the adjourning of the Trinity terme was past before my coming to York, and when I heard of it I gave divers reasons against it, but they prevailed not. I am heere in a very hard condition, where I may be ruined both ways.

"The king is extremely offended with me touching the militia; saith that I should have performed the part of an honest man in protesting against the illegality of the ordinance; commands me, upon my allegiance, yet to do it. I have given him my opinion on it. I have told him it is not safe for me to deliver anie opinion in things which are voted in the housses. You know how cautious I have been in this particular; I have studied all meanes which way matters may be brought to a good conclusion between the king and the housses, all high wayes and wayes of force will be distructive; and if we should have civill warrs, it would make us a miserable people, and might introduce foreign powers; therefore, there is no other way left but the way of accomodation, that the housses would set down their desires that they would fix upon, and what they will doe for the king in his revenue; and the king to expresse what he desires to be done for him; and these things being in treaty may be a good motive for the king to return with more honor to his Parliament, where all things may be enacted without distrust of either side; and though the time may seem unfavourable now during these distractions, yet noe time is unseasonable to prevent great

mischiefs and inconveniences, and the Parliament being the king's great counssel is most proper to do it; and it hath been my daily endeavour and earnest solicitation with his Majestie to induce business into this way, and some of your Committee have told me that it was the purpose of your house to send down propositions to this purpose, which I wish may be speedily done whilst I am heere, and that they might be so reasonable as that there might be no just cause of exception against them; it cannot be expected that they can be heere determined, but they may be put into a way.

"I have heere dealt cleerly and plainly with you, and I dout not but you will make a good use of it, the king is pleased still to have me, but how he will harken unto me and be persuaded by me I leave that to God; the hart of the king is in the hands of the Lord, whom I beseech to direct us all, and so with my hartie affections to yourselfe, I rest

"Your assured faithful friend to serve you,

"Jo. B.

"York, 21 May, 1642, at night."

"This day 155 gentlemen of Yorkshire appeard with their horses, and about 80 horse, with servants whose names are register'd; the Prince is captaine, and Sir Jno. Byron is lieutenant."

On the 15th of June, 1642, the Lords and Counsellors present at York unanimously agreed upon, and did affix their signatures to a paper testifying His Majesty's abhorrence of any designs of making war upon the Parliament. This Declaration was signed by the Lord Keeper Lit-

tleton, 1 Duke, 1 Marquis, 32 other Peers; Lord Falkland, Sir Peter Wych Controller, Sir J. Culpepper Chancellor of the Exchequer, Secretary Nicholas, and Lord Chief Justice Bankes.

This Declaration has met with much censure, in which Lord Falkland must unavoidably bear the largest part, for he, at this time, held the post of Secretary of State. The censure is, however, wholly undeserved, there was not any one of the noble and honourable subscribers to this paper who believed otherwise than as he there testified, with regard to the intentions of the king.

Personal guards it was necessary that Charles should have when forces were levying against him; for the maintenance of this levy plate was brought in, in quantities so large, that the appointed receivers were obliged to sit up whole nights to receive it.* The gentry of Yorkshire and of the neighbouring counties were perfectly determined that the king should not be carried away by force; but they entertained in the month of June, no military notion beyond that of a purely defensive warfare. It was endeavoured, and with some success, to excite alarm and indignation in London, by the rumours of vast armaments in the North. But so far were the Parliamentary party from believing the king was about to commence a war against them, that they did not imagine he had the means to sustain the ordinary expenses of his household for three months longer, and the intention of their levy was to bring him back to his capital in a triumph of their own, upon such terms as they should think fit to dictate. The moderate men who

* At Guildhall, London.

still adhered to the Parliament viewed these designs with deep anxiety, which are expressed in the next letter from Lord Northumberland.

"EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND TO SIR JOHN BANKES.

"My Lord,—The greate numbers of horse that are prouiding in the North, and the intention of putting garisons into Newcastle and other places shews little inclination to peace, t' is that which we do here desire, we were growing into a very good temper and way of moderation, but the last message that we receaved on Saturday from his Mag^t did kindle a little heate, w^ch I hope will soone be quenched again, but for our iustification in some points it will oblige us to an answer. I acknowledge that all things desired in our 19 propositions are not absolutely necessarie for securing vnto vs our lawes, liberties, and priviledges, nor was it intended that those propositions should be insisted upon, they being petitions of grace, not of right.

"The adjournment of the Parlam. to some other place I verily beleeve will not be consented vnto, for divers members will have more reason to distrust their saftie in meeteing att an other place, then any can apprehend in coming to London; in what part of the kingdome soever they shall assemble, it is not to be immagined but there will be different opinions amongst the members, therefore J hope the thought of removeing the Parlam. from London will be layed aside, else I assure your Lo^p it will extremely hinder the reconciliation that is so much desired, and which I profess unto your Lo^p I would purchase w^th hazard of my life, though I have

the misfortune to be otherwise understood att Yorke. The offer of an acte of oblivion and generall pardon I presume would incline many to an accommodation.

"I shall to the best of my vnderstanding be carefull to obserue the good aduise your Lo^p giues me in your letter of the 20, for w^ch I returne you many hartie thankes, and will ever be

"Your faithfull freind and servant,

"A. NORTHUMBERLAND.

"Sion, June 29, 1642."

The next letter is written in a different strain, being from the then chief of the Puritan party in Parliament, Lord Say and Seale, "a man of a close and reserved nature, of a mean and a narrow fortune, of great parts, and of the highest ambition. He had for many years been the oracle of those who were called Puritans, in the worst sense, and stirred all their counsels and designs.

"He had very great authority with all the discontented party throughout the kingdom, and a good reputation with many who were not discontented, who believed him to be a wise man, and of a very useful temper, in an age of licence, and one who would still adhere to the law." *

"To my Honored ffrinde S^r JOHN BANKS, Lord Cheefe Justice of the Common Pleas, these present.

"My Lord,—I must first give you many thanks for remembering me with your lynes, as also to beg youi pardon that I did not sooner returne an answer. But your Lo. may impute it to a feaver which I am not^s yet

* Clarendon's History.

free from. The distempers of the times are grown to that higth that I knowe not a physician of value to cure them; but God alone who hath the harts of all in his hand, to forme them which way soever he pleaseth. We have att length brought it to propositions which you know was always in my mynde to endeavour; but the * . . . . . .
that there is little hope of any accomodation in that way we are in; believe it, my Lord, your cavaliers (as they are called) doe much mistake in persuading themselves or others that thear is any fear here † . . .
these propositions express the fydelytie & true intentions of those whoe have not ‡ . . . . . .
who desyre the king's wealth and greatness, as it may stand with theyr own rights and liberty, and the ende of his government; they do not aryse from any apprehensions of yours § . . . . . .
I beseech you use your best endeavour to prevayle with the king to keep his parliament before private men; his great councel before men engaged & interested for their owne || . . . . a parliament in Englande will not be forsaken ** . . . . . .

"My Lord, I desyre your Lo. favour, and that which I presume will prove for the king's advantage.

"The customers place in †† . . . is fallen voyd by death . . . . . my cosen Temple & one that I hear will doe the king good service I hear is come down about it, lett me intreat your Lo. favour for him to

* Several lines not legible. † Some words not legible.
‡ Words illegible. § Lines illegible. || Word illegible.
** Lines not legible. †† Word not legible.

speak to the king to bestow it upon him. I dare say whosoever ye king may* . . . . . this mo will advantage the king many 1000*l.* If your Lo. shall thinke it fitt to move my Lord Duke of Richmonde to speke a word in it, he would doe it & effect it. I thought it not worth troubling him with a letter about it. I knowe it will be for the king's service & profitt w^ch^ makes we willinger to move it, that I will presse your Lo. in it likewise.

"I shall ever remayne

"Your Lo. very affectionate friende & servant,

"W. SAY & SEALE.

"June 8, 1642."

Lord Say and Seale, with all the Puritans, were resolved to insist on the 19 articles; which was by no means the intention of Northumberland and the moderate men in the two Houses. On this material division of opinion in the Parliament rested a chance for the King, which his three intimate counsellors failed unhappily to take advantage of.

Hyde had now entirely withdrawn himself from London; having quitted it and travelled by circuitous routes, under great apprehension of arrest, until he came to a place within twenty miles of York, Nostall, the house of Sir John Worstenholme, from whence he sent every day to the king, and received his Majesty's commands. The object of Hyde's continued concealment at this time is not any where explained; he could have no reasonable grounds for the fear of arrest in the city of York, where

* Lines not legible.

the King had so respectable a force, that his enemies gave it the name of an army. Hyde seems to have had a great love of mystery. He continued at Nostall until he heard that the arrival of the nine peers, new accessions to the king's court, had produced the effect of greatly aggravating the feelings of displeasure and contempt which Charles entertained towards his Lord Keeper. The new comers brought the latest accounts of his political baseness, and intimated that the king's court derived no credit from his presence amongst them. Charles would not permit him to have the custody of the Great Seal; it was kept by the king himself, and used only in his presence.

Hyde now found it necessary to appear openly at York, in protection of this unhappy statesman.

The King, when he arrived, acting upon Hyde's suggestion, affected to believe that he was just come from London, and inquired the news from thence. He then called Hyde into the garden, and said at the beginning, "That they needed not now be afraid of being seen together." Charles was most gracious in his manner and expressions to Hyde, telling him, that if it were not for his sake he would turn the Lord Keeper out of his place that very hour.

Hyde succeeded with some difficulty in still preserving Littleton in the high position which it was probable he could not long retain: the vigour of his mind was gone, he sunk into great melancholy, and his bodily health was declining daily.

"On the 15th of July, the King, who was now seriously engaged in collecting forces for the defence of his person,

—the Houses of Parliament having on the 12th voted that an army should be forthwith raised, that the Earl of Essex should be their general, and that they would live and die with him—came from Lincoln to Beverley, and at the same moment when he entered that town three messengers from the Parliament—the Earl of Holland, Sir John Holland, and Sir Philip Stapleton—arrived there from London. These messengers reported to all whom they met, and with whom they conversed, "that they had brought so absolute a submission from the Parliament to the king, that there could be no doubt of a firm and happy peace; and when the Earl of Holland presented the petition he first made a short speech to the king, reminding him of the glorious motto of his blessed father, 'Beati Pacifici.' This petition, not a very lengthy one, contained strong and severe language as respected the counsellors of the king; but with regard to his own royal person, it was so expressive of humble loyalty and love, duty and devotion, as to be liable possibly to some exception on that very account. As soon as the petition was read by the Earl of Holland, the king told them that the reproaches cast upon him by it were not answerable to the expressions his Lordship had made, and that he was sorry that they thought the exposing him and his honour to so much scandal was the way to procure or preserve the peace of the kingdom; that they should speedily receive his answer, by which the world would discern who desired peace most."

It was an unfortunate accident, if indeed it was an accident, that Hyde, who was riding near to Beverley, encountered the Earl of Holland and his companions

when entering with this mission. They exchanged salutations, and, after some preliminary discourse on the subject of this message, they entered upon a warmer discourse than perhaps either of them intended, so that they seemed nothing pleased with each other; nor did Mr. Hyde visit Lord Holland after his coming to Beverley, because he was informed that the Earl had to many persons who resorted to him repeated with some liberty and sharpness what had passed between them, and not without some menaces what the Parliament would do; and as soon as he did return, there was a vote passed by name against Hyde, and two or three more, by which he was exempted from pardon in any accommodation that should be made between the King and the Parliament.

"Mr. Hyde had been absent four or five days from the court, and came into the presence when the king was washing his hands before dinner; and as soon as the King saw him he asked him aloud, 'Ned Hyde; when did you play with my band-strings last?' upon which he was exceedingly out of countenance, not imagining the cause of the question, and the room being full of gentlemen, who appeared to be merry with what the King had asked. But his Majesty observing him to be in disorder and to blush very much, said pleasantly, 'Be not troubled at it, for I have worn no band-strings these twenty years;' and then asked him whether he had not seen the Diurnal, of which he had not heard till then; but shortly after, some of the standers-by showed him a Diurnal, in which there was a letter of intelligence printed, where it was said that Ned Hyde was grown so familiar with the king, that he used to play

with his band-strings, which was a method of calumniating they began then, and was shortly after prosecuted and exercised upon much greater persons."

From this period may be dated the origin of political lampoons; in which species of warfare Ned Hyde himself engaged very largely, and with great success; he wrote imaginary speeches of members of both Houses, which in some instances deceived both the King and the Parliament, so well was the style of the supposed speakers imitated.

It is not surprising that the unfortunate altercation in the morning, had by no means disposed Hyde to procure a favourable reception to Lord Holland from the King. When the Earl approached, and kneeled to kiss his hand, he turned, or withdrew his hand in such a manner that the Earl kissed his own. Hyde had, in fact, perceived from the discourse of these messengers that any accommodation between the King and the Parliament would by no means advance his own position in the state. There was no person against whom the members remaining in London entertained a stronger feeling of resentment; his secret communications with the king at a time when he declined avowedly to join the king's counsels, gave in their opinion a character to his conduct, which distinguished it very unfavourably from the line taken by others, who, having openly accepted posts of trust and confidence, attended the king in discharge of their official duties.

"The Earl of Holland was a younger son of a noble house and a very fruitful bed, which divided a very numerous issue between two great fathers, the Lord

Rich, and Mountjoy Earl of Devonshire. He was a very handsome man, of a lovely and winning presence, by which he got so easy an admission into the court and grace of King James, that he gave over the thought of further intending the life of a soldier. He took all the ways he could to endear himself to the Duke of Buckingham, and he prospered so well that the King scarce made more haste to advance the Duke than the Duke did to promote the other. He first preferred him to a wife, the daughter and heir of Cope, by whom he had a good fortune, and amongst other things the manor and seat of Kensington. The Duke prevailed that he should be put about the Prince of Wales. He was then made Earl of Holland, Captain of the Guard, Knight of the Garter, and of the Privy Council; he was sent the first ambassador into France, to treat about the marriage with the Queen.

"In this confidence and in this posture he was left by the Duke when he was killed; and having the advantage of the Queen's good opinion and favour (which the Duke neither had nor cared for), he made all possible approaches towards the obtaining his trust and succeeding him in his power.

"And in this state, and under this protection, he received every day new obligations from the King, and continued to flourish above any man in the court whilst the weather was fair; but the storm did no sooner arise but he changed so much, and declined so fast from the honour he was once thought to be master of, that he fell into that condition, which there will be hereafter too much cause to mention and to enlarge upon."*

* Clarendon.

On the same day when these Parliamentary messengers arrived, the following letter, written by Lord Wharton, was delivered to Sir John Bankes:—

"My Lord,—I must acknowledge your letter and animadversions therein as an effect of your constant kindnesse to me. I have butt one word to trouble you with, the occasion of these members' attendances upon his Maty being (as is to bee hoped) a fayr overture to worke upon for prevention of thatt mischeefe which, with God's blessing, shall never pursue this poor nation.

"My L^d, I am as sensible of the publique inconveniences and my owne as any person canne bee, and out of that sence would contribute what is deerest to mee, towards a right understanding and mutuall confidence betwixt the king and his people; and therefore, as your L^dp. shall see in your wisdome any oportunity wherein you may thinke mee serviceable to those ends, I shall entreate you to communicate your thoughts to me with freedome.

"I shall long very much to heare of the successe of this petition now sent, and till I see which way it works your L^dp will pardon mee for forbearing to adventure to give you any sence of our thoughts and wayes heere, for I see every body's expectation soe hung upon the acceptation of and progress upon this petition, that, till itt bee understood, most persons here will perhaps reserve theyre inclinations and deferr theyr resolutions.

"I am wholly and affectionately, your L^dps most humble servant,

"P. WHARTON.

"13th July, 12 o'clocke att night."

Late at night on the 16th of July the following letter, written by command of the King, was delivered by Sir Endymion Porter to the Chief Justice. Sir Endymion Porter, with Sir Francis Cottington, had been selected by the Duke of Buckingham to attend on Charles I. when in Spain. He was now one of the bedchamber to the Prince. This letter is addressed,

"FOR YOUR LOP.

"My much honored Lord,—His Matie hath commanded mee to send your Lop this booke, wch hee would have yoü peruse, and when you have perfected it hee would have your Lop return it to him, and wth what convenient speede you maye. This is all I had order to saye from the king, and for myself I can only assure you that I am obliged to bee

"Your Lops humble servant,

"ENDYMION PORTER.

"Beverley, this 16th of July,
at 10 of the clock at night."

This letter has upon it an endorsement in the handwriting of Sir John Bankes:—"Received from Sir E. Porter, 17 July, 1642, with the draught yt be come * . . ."

It may be concluded that this book was a draft of the proposed voluminous reply of the King to the petition which arrived from the Parliament on the 15th.

On the evening of the 17th the king delivered in public to the messengers his answer to the petition, which was likewise read by one of his servants, entitled 'The Answer to the Petition of the Lords and Com-

* Some other words are not legible.

mons assembled in Parliament.' This reply commenced with a large recapitulation of grievances and of insults received from those who now addressed the king; the reply proceeded afterwards to answer in detail the propositions which had been contained in the message, and this portion of the reply was couched in forcible and dignified language.

When this answer was first publicly read, says Clarendon, it was the opinion of the courtiers that the King had not enough resented the insolence and usurpation of the Parliament; yet the thought of war was so much abhorred, that by the next morning (the message having been delivered in the evening) many came to the opinion that the king's answer was too sharp, and would provoke the Houses to proceed in the high ways they were in. And the Earl of Holland privately offered to undertake that, if the king would abate the severity of language and take off the preamble of his answer, satisfaction should be given in regard to all that his Majesty proposed. Some were so far wrought upon that they earnestly entreated the king "that he would take his answer, which he had publicly delivered the night before, from the messengers, and, instead thereof, return only the measure of his own propositions without the preamble." But the King replied that, if he should now retract his answer which had been solemnly considered in council, he should by such yielding give encouragement to new attempts, and could not but much discourage those upon whose affections and loyalty he was principally to depend; other reasons he gave, and concluded by positively refusing to make the least alteration in his answer.

The Earl of Holland had been much dissatisfied of late with his condition in London; he found that the Earl of Essex, whom he envied and despised, drew the eyes of all men towards himself, and had the greatest interest in their hearts; he had therefore seriously intended, under colour of this message to the king, to procure an acceptation of his service, and hoped for an opportunity to redeem his former trespasses; but when he found that all former inclinations towards him on the part of his Majesty were dead—that his advice was rejected and his advances treated with neglect—he returned with rancour equal to the most furious of the hostile party, and thenceforth heartily concurred towards the suppressing that power in the administration whereof he was not like to bear any part.

On the 28th of July the Parliament sent their replication to the King's answer; it came with no solemnity of messengers, but was enclosed in a letter sent to one of the secretaries to be presented to the king: which replication, as they called it, to His Majesty's answer they ordered "to be printed, and read in all churches and chapels within the kingdom of England and dominion of Wales." Both parties now seemed to give over all thoughts of further treaties and overtures, preparing on either side to make themselves considerable by the strength and power of such forces as they could draw together.

The private letters cited in the foregoing pages establish as a fact that many men of the highest names and fairest character, adherents of the Parliamentary party, were at this time sincerely desirous of an honourable accommodation with the Crown.

The Puritan party in both Houses at Westminster was already powerful, but not supreme; the number of those who now attended in the Commons was never large; in the House of Peers it was contemptible when compared with the nobles who were adherents of the king; and the two Houses had lost much of their consideration by a series of tyrannical oppressions, sometimes upon a member of their own, sometimes upon a tailor who reviled King Pym, or upon a wealthy merchant who was so rash as to think he might humbly petition them. It was no very unpromising project therefore that, a fair principle of accommodation being agreed upon, the personal friends of the king in both Houses should join those who were friends of the monarchical form of government, and who were willing to assign all adequate powers to the king; such a union would at this time have overpowered the Puritan party. After this time all attempts at negotiation were vain. When the arbitration of the sword was once appealed to, the object of the Puritans was accomplished; the whole Parliamentary party was then compromised under the name of traitors, and the Royalists were compromised as the abettors of tyranny and slaughter.

In the preceding year a project of such compromise as was still to appearance practicable had been entertained, and was then unhappily defeated by the death of the Earl of Bedford.

In the year next following the same project was again in contemplation, with the sanction of Hyde and his two coadjutors, but it was then too late; the war had begun, and the nominal leaders of the Parliament had lost their power.

The removal of the Court to York gave an opportunity for calm consideration and discussion which could not have been found in the neighbourhood of the metropolis; this removal appears to have been planned and executed by the king without previous consultation with any one; it was carried into effect with dignity: he journeyed slowly; he received remonstrances from the Parliament against this progress, and still went on; returning, however, replies in regard to that rash conduct of his which had been so justly the subject of censure; of this he took the whole blame upon himself, and withdrew all the accusations made by him or in his name to the Parliament.

When established at York, and a brilliant court there gathering round him, the failure of his attempts upon Hull was a warning of the little reliance he could place on what might seem to be the surest intelligence, received through undoubted friends; and he learnt that, if it was true the King's name was the best loved, the name of the Parliament was undoubtedly the most feared throughout the kingdom.

A furious paper war now raged, in which Hyde, in the opinion of the Royalists, gained many a bloodless victory; he was justly proud of the commanding powers of his pen; and in order to convince the public at large of his superiority, he provided that, together with the King's proclamations and replies, the remonstrances, petitions, and other publications of the Parliament, should be everywhere distributed, so as to insure a comparison of the weight of argument adduced on the one side and upon the other.

Some mischief attended this very fair course of pro-

ceeding, for by these means the papers of the Parliament were universally disseminated, whilst on the other hand the Parliament prohibited by severe enactments the Royalist publications, so that they could not continue anywhere in public circulation, and it was dangerous where the Parliamentary force prevailed even to have them privately in possession.

In those days, as in these, most persons chose to read only their own side of the political argument; and when it is considered how large a portion of the population at that time could not read at all, it may be doubted whether the vast quantity of time employed in preparing these lengthy and irritating controversies was in reality well bestowed.

Amongst the educated classes they were the trumpets of civil war.

The king resolved to revoke the Earl of Northumberland's commission of the office of High Admiral of England; then to send Sir John Pennington, who was with him at York, on board the fleet to take charge of it; and letters were prepared and signed by the king to every one of the captains, whereby they were required to observe the orders of Sir John Pennington; and all this was carried with all possible secresy, so that none but those few who were trusted knew or suspected any such alteration.

This revocation of his appointment being presented privately to the Earl of Northumberland in London by one of the king's pages, he expressed his resolution to obey his Majesty, and a hearty sorrow that he had by any misfortune incurred his Majesty's displeasure. The

Parliament, informed immediately of this occurrence, were exceedingly perplexed with the apprehension of being dispossessed of so great a part of their strength as the Royal fleet, and earnestly pressed the Earl of Northumberland (though they had heretofore been somewhat jealous of the loyalty of his disposition) that, notwithstanding such his Majesty's revocation, he would still continue the execution of his office of Lord High Admiral, in which they would assist him with their utmost power and authority. But his Lordship answered, "That it would ill become him, who had received that charge from the king with so notable circumstances of trust and favour, to continue the possession thereof against his express pleasure," and utterly refused what the Parliament required. Upon this the Houses immediately passed an ordinance, as they called it, to appoint the Earl of Warwick, who was already with the fleet, to be Admiral thereof; and this ordinance, together with letters and votes of encouragement to his Lordship and to the officers and seamen, they speedily sent by a member of their own, who arrived at the fleet the morning after the king's letters had been delivered to the captains, but before the arrival of Sir John Pennington, who did not in fact appear at all; and consequently there was no one present whom the captains could obey in pursuance of the king's commands. So fatally ill-conducted in their execution were the secret counsels of the king. The result was, the obedience of the whole fleet to the authority of the Earl of Warwick, with the exception of four loyal captains, two of whom were seized and taken by their own men to the Earl of War-

wick, who immediately committed them to custody, and sent them up prisoners to the Parliament; two others who also refused were deprived of their commands and set on shore. The loss of the whole navy was of unspeakable ill consequence to the king's affairs, and made his condition much the less considered by his allies and neighbour princes. The news of this diminution of his Majesty's power, and infinite addition of strength to his enemies, was a terrible blow at York. Whilst under command of the Earl of Northumberland the fleet was at any rate nominally the King's. The Parliament were jealous of the Earl, and wished to supersede him, but durst not make the attempt, because a considerable portion, perhaps the whole, of the fleet would have continued to obey his command; the rash measure now adopted had given full effect to the wishes of the Parliament—they got the fleet into their own power, and yet preserved to their party the name and high character of Northumberland.

With regard to the Earl of Essex, the steps taken were equally fatal to the Royal cause. Soon after the establishment of the Court at York, the King decided on the dismissal of the Earl of Essex from the office of Chamberlain; the Earl had accepted the staff at a time when it was thought no other man, who would in any degree have appeared worthy of it, had the courage to receive it; his obligation to the king, therefore, was not very deep, but, having taken the charge upon him, he should in no case have fallen short of his duty. He did not accompany the king when he was driven by insults from Whitehall, he went into the City to visit the Ive

accused members when resident there, and had not joined the Royal Court now held at York. The king was perfectly justified in removing him on every ground excepting that of political expediency. "There is great reason to believe," says Clarendon, "that if this resolution which the king had taken had not been too obstinately pursued at that time, many of the mischiefs which afterwards fell out would have been prevented; and without doubt, if the staff had remained still in the hands of the Earl of Essex, by which he was charged with the defence and security of the king's person, he would never have been prevailed with to have taken upon him the command of the army which was afterwards raised against the king, and with which so many battles were fought. And there can be as little doubt, in any man who knew well the nature and temper of that time, that it had been very difficult, if not utterly impossible, for the two Houses of Parliament to have raised an army, then, if the Earl of Essex had not consented to be general of that army." Hyde was clearly no adviser of this last dismissal; whether he was of the other he does not inform us. This at least is clear, that those who advised these two measures, gave in the one instance the whole English fleet to the Houses of Parliament, and in the other they gave them the means of creating an army under command of the only general of reputation then in the British dominions.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE TIME OF THE SETTING UP OF THE ROYAL STANDARD AT NOTTINGHAM IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST, 1642, UNTIL THE RAISING OF THE FIRST SIEGE OF CORFE CASTLE IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST, 1643.

No description of this too memorable event will ever supersede that which has been recorded so graphically by the noble historian.

"According to the proclamation, the standard was upon the twenty-second day of August erected, about six of the clock in the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day. The King himself, with a small train, rode to the top of the Castle hill, Varney, the Knight Marshal, who was standardbearer, carrying the standard, which was then erected in that place, with little other ceremony than the sound of drums and trumpets. Melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time.

"There was not one regiment of foot yet brought thither, so that the trained bands, which the sheriff had drawn together, were all the strength the king had for his person and the guard of the standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation, the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town. The standard was blown down the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the

tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the king's affairs when the standard was set up."

It is remarkable that Lord Clarendon's picture of this most important event, is drawn in more gloomy colours than any other writer of the time has made use of; he seems to have been mistaken also in the date which he assigns, having fixed it three days later than the day which Rushworth names, who says it occurred on the 22nd, and this date Hume and others having adopted, it is so inserted here.

This account, which reached Clarendon in his retreat, was no doubt of the same complexion with that which travelled to London, where it was of course very gratefully received; and the first impression of the Parliament seemed to be very amply confirmed, when there arrived three days afterwards four messengers from the King, being persons of the highest consideration in his Court, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Dorset, Sir John Culpepper, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir William Uvedale, who came with a message to both Houses of Parliament touching a fair foundation of peace and happiness to all his Majesty's good subjects. The King, there is reason to believe, gave no approbation to a step which held out no reasonable prospect of success, and could hardly fail to encourage those who were now acting as an united party in arms against him. The messengers were received with contumely, were not permitted to occupy their seats in Parliament, and the reply to the message, written in the temper which might have been anticipated, was the more forcible because it was not lengthy.

"THE ANSWER OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS TO HIS MAJESTY'S MESSAGE.

"May it please your Majesty,—The Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, having received your Majesty's message of the 25th of August, do with much grief resent the dangerous and distracted estate of this kingdom, which we have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by our several advices and petitions to your Majesty, which have not been only without success, but there hath followed that which no ill counsel in former times hath produced, or any age hath seen, namely, those several Proclamations and Declarations against both Houses of Parliament, whereby their actions are declared treasonable, and their persons traitors; and thereupon your Majesty hath set up your standard against them; whereby you have put the two Houses of Parliament, and in them the whole kingdom, out of your protection; so that until your Majesty shall recall those Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the Earl of Essex, and both Houses of Parliament, and their adherents and assistants, and such as have obeyed and executed their commands, according to their duties, are declared traitors; and until the standard, set up in pursuance of the said Proclamations, be taken down, your Majesty hath put us into such a condition that whilst we so remain we cannot, by the fundamental privileges of Parliament, the public trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this kingdom, give your Majesty any other answer to this message.

"JO. BROWN, Cler. Parl.

"HEN. ELSING, Cler. Parl. D. Com."

The Earl of Essex was at the head of a considerable army long before the King had even a sufficient permanent force to protect his person, and it seems clear that the Earl desired and expected to reduce the king's party to submission, by the mere display of a force against which he thought it would be impossible for them to offer any competition; he collected levies largely and rapidly from many considerable towns, and he heard of the utter disappointment of the expectations of the advisers of the Crown, as to the effect of the Royal Standard, and of the call to arms in the name of the King. But the Parliamentary party knew little of the real feelings of the country at large. The country at large abhorred the notion of war, and cared very little about the particulars of the Parliamentary quarrel; but to see their King oppressed and insulted they were by no means prepared to endure; and when, the Royal Court breaking up at York, peers and great commoners, known and beloved in their several provinces, returned to their homes to head the levies which were ordered to be raised, men sprang up, as if from beneath the soil, to range themselves under banners inscribed with names which they knew and trusted. To the astonishment of the Parliament, the King was enabled, on Sunday, the 23rd of October, to give battle to the Earl of Essex at Keinton Edgehill; and of this furious encounter it was the singular result that each party thought the other was the victor. The king lost his general commanding-in-Chief, the Earl of Lindsay; he lost also his standard-bearer, and for a time his standard, which ultimately was recovered; many of his most gallant friends were

killed around him; and his own person, his two sons also, were in the greatest danger. On the other side, all the baggage of the army, including the coach of the Earl of Essex, was captured by the Royal army, and on the Earl's side a larger proportion of troops were slain than on the king's. The noble gallantry of Charles had encouraged his troops to sustain such a combat, though many of them had been without provisions for forty-eight hours, and all of them were very inadequately supplied with arms, or with warm clothing to meet the cold of a frost which set in unusually early and with great severity; in the night following the battle the troops suffered most grievously from this infliction, and many brave men left the field unable to endure it, who returned to their ranks next day. The king remained exposed all night, sharing with his soldiers the insufficient warmth of fires supplied only with brushwood, and fuel of that description.

In the early morning he was induced to enter his coach, wherein his two sons had passed the night.

Ludlow, who was present in this battle on the Parliamentary side, says, "It was observed that the greatest slaughter on our side was of such as ran away, and on the king's side of those that stood, of whom I saw about three score lie within the compass of three score yards upon the ground, whereon that brigade fought in which the king's standard was."

Neither party was prepared next morning to renew the combat. But each of them, finding that they had at first underrated the disaster of their adversary, now forgot their own losses and sung Te Deum for a victory.

Essex retired with his army to Warwick; Charles advanced at the head of his forces to Banbury, and after receiving the surrender of the castle there, with considerable stores which it contained, he passed one night at his own house at Woodstock, and on the next day came with his whole army to Oxford, this being the only city in England that was entirely devoted to him; here he was received by the University, and entered amidst enthusiastic joy and acclamation within the walls of this beautiful city. Sir John Bankes came with the Court to Oxford; and lived there in the house of his son-in-law, Sir Robert Jenkinson, who had married Sir John's second daughter; these were ancestors of the Earls of Liverpool.

The circumstances of the late campaign had not been unfavourable to the Royal cause, and Charles was now in a city devoted to his service, where a splendid Court was again assembling round him. Some might consider that his condition had improved in comparison with what it had been when he held his Court at York; but there was this disastrous difference between the two periods—there had now been five thousand lives lost in the quarrel.

The weather, which had been so cold and ungenial at the end of October, exhibited a change not unfrequent in this climate, and the bright influence of an Allhallow-tide summer excited the cavaliers to fresh enterprises: they were led by their gallantry into successful combats against very superior numbers, and London itself was in danger; but the result of these sanguinary exploits were by no means advantageous to the King; they dis-

turbed the chance, if any there then was, of accommodation with the Parliamentary party, and gave to the Puritans some grounds for charging the Royalists with the design of deceiving and taking them by surprise.

These fresh conflicts, fresh wounds, and fresh insults mutually interchanged, roused the fury of each of the contending parties to the highest pitch of excitement. On the side of the cavaliers every present circumstance combined to inflame their martial ardour, even to the chivalrous enthusiasm of romance. In the holy city, when possessed by the Crusaders, there were not seen so many Christian chapels illuminated every night for prayer, nor so many banquet-halls, with heaped abundance on the boards, at which sat Princes and Palatines, Peers and Chieftains of every degree, intermixed with ecclesiastics, who pronounced laudatory praises on the warriors fighting in this holy cause. All passion for field sports was in the young men merged in their anxious anticipation of the deadly game of war: to prepare armour and suitable equipments, splendid according to their rank and fortunes—these were the fashionable pursuits, their hourly thought, pride, and care of the young nobles and wealthy gentry of the day; from the graceful hands of the fair, they received the scarfs which relieved in appearance the weight of the manly war-dress then adopted: in the ranks of the Earl of Essex's troops the subdued tone of the orange tawny was adopted for their scarfs, leaving the brighter colours for the choice of the Cavaliers.

Heraldic devices with appropriate mottoes were also borne on their innumerable banners, as well by gallant

warriors of the one party as of the other, and a few specimens selected from a publication of the day, will convey a correct notion of the rancorous spirit of hatred which now prevailed in the progress of this deadly contest.

"*The Earl of Caernarvon* had for his devise," says the book, "a lyon depainted and six dogs bayting or baying at him; one of the six was bigger than the rest, from whose mouth issued a little scrowel, whereon was written 'Kimbolton;' the other dogs had each the name of one of the five accused members.

"*The Lord Molleneux* figured a sun obscured by a crescent.

"The motto from the sun 'Quid si refulsero?' From the crescent the motto ran—'Væ Cornibus meis.'

"A gross insult this on the matrimonial infelicities of the Earl of Essex, who, having married two wives in succession, had found just occasion to divorce them both.

"*Col. Hatton* represented the picture of Fortune with a crown in her right hand, and 5 halters in the left, and 5 men upon their knees addressing her, but she gives them the left hand with this motto—'Cuiquam meritum.'

"Another figured the Parliament House with two men's heads stuck upon it, and the motto 'Ut extra sic intus.'

"A banner with this device was captured in the course of the war, and exhibited at the table of the House of Commons, exciting the infinite fury of the members.

"Another figured a Roundhead running for his life,

pursued by a triumphant Cavalier, with a very insulting motto.

"*The Lord Digby* figured his own crest, 'an ostrich with a horseshoe in his beak.' The Latin motto signified 'That the iron was better than the plume.'

"On the Parliament side—

"*The Lord Fairfax* figured a sword renting a triple crown, with a crown imperial on the top of it, and this motto in Spanish :—'Viva el Rey: y muera el mal Govierno.'

"*The Lord Hastings* figured a flame of fire: 'Quasi ignis conflatoris,' for motto.

"*Sir Samuel Luke* (the original of Hudibras) figured a Bible and a map of London.

"*Col. Cook*, of Gloucestershire, figured an armed man cutting off the corners of an University cap, and the motto—'Muto quadrata rotundis.'"

The book from which these few extracts are taken is entitled,—'The Art of Making Devises, &c. &c. &c., a translation from the French, whereunto is added A Catalogue of Coronet Devises, both on the King's and the Parliament's side in the late Warres.' By Tho. Blount, Gent.'

The author informs us that the devices were better executed on the Parliament side than on the other, by reason that the former had the advantage of the best London artists; the others, excluded from the metropolis, were constrained to have recourse to provincial talent.

The winter brought of necessity some cessation of hostilities, and all those who were beyond that age which finds sport in danger now became, as well in London as

in Oxford, seriously anxious for the close of so unnatural a strife; those excepted, and they were now becoming a numerous body, who desired to change, not merely the mode of governing, but the form and foundations of the existing system of the Government, and this they were aware must be effected by a longer continuance of the troubles.

Those who, in the Parliamentary party, had been leaders, and still retained a semblance of power, saw their own danger and seriously promoted steps towards accommodation, which those who had other views were resolved to thwart, but could not at that time openly resist.

About the end of January the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Holland, with eight members of the Commons, came to Oxford, the bearers of a petition and propositions of the two Houses.

These messengers made their entry into Oxford in great state; each Peer in his coach and six, conveying two of the members of the House of Commons, and a number of servants on horseback attending them.

Some of the soldiers and of the people of the town, others also of better rank, reviled them as they passed by as rebels and traitors, of which they took no other notice than to complain to some of the king's officers, who seemed to be very angry at it. Their first access to the King was in the garden of Christchurch, where he was walking with the Prince and several noblemen. All of them kissed his hand in their order of precedence, and were graciously received by his Majesty. Of these propositions the 8th in number contained, amongst other things, the following imperious demand :—

"That your Majesty will be pleased, by your letters patent, to make Sir John Bramston Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, William Lenthall, Esq., the now Speaker of the Commons' House, Master of the Rolls, and to continue the Lord Chief Justice Bankes Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas." Many other demands for legal appointments were contained in the same proposition, which concluded in these words:— "And that all these, and all the judges of the same courts, for the time to come, may hold their places by letters patent under the Great Seal, 'Quam diu se bene gesserint;' and that the several persons not before named, that do hold any of these places before mentioned, may be removed.

The tenor of this Parliamentary demand, coupled with the letters above recited, prove beyond the reach of controversy the historical mistake adverted to in a former page, but the work in which it occurs loses nothing of its popularity from the political bias which it exhibits.

It is recorded as the only misfortune of a great man of old "That all men did speak well of him." The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas probably derived no great pride from the commendation of such a Parliament as this had now become. But there were men still sitting there of whose friendship he might be honourably proud, and the esteem and kind regard of the King was in no degree diminished by this impertinent interposition in his favour.

The Earl of Northumberland and others of the Commissioners, who came with these propositions, spoke to

all whom they knew then attending the king's court with all freedom of the persons from whom they came; inveighed against their tyranny and unreasonableness, and especially against the propositions which themselves had brought; but positively declared that, if the king would vouchsafe so gracious an answer (which they confessed they had no reason to expect) as might engage the two Houses in a treaty, it would not be then in the power of the violent party to deny whatsoever his Majesty could reasonably desire. Upon this (though the King expected little from those private undertakings, well knowing that they who wished best were of least power, and that the greatest among them, as soon as they were but suspected to incline to peace, immediately lost their reputation) his Majesty, within two days, dismissed those messengers with a gracious answer.

Six months earlier these messengers had a degree of power in the Parliament which had now passed from them, and for a considerable period after their return to London no notice whatsoever was taken in the Houses of the king's reply to their propositions, whilst their own preparations for the war were more vigorously put in action than before. It was not until the 1st of March that propositions for a treaty were renewed.

The Earl of Northumberland, with four members of the Commons, were on this occasion the messengers from the two Houses, and terms for a treaty were produced at the Council-table, the pride of the Parliament having refused to treat with any but the king himself; and since his Majesty resolved to transact all by the advice and opinion of his Privy Council, "it will be season-

able" (says Lord Clarendon) "to set down the names of all those Privy Counsellors who attended the King; there being at this time a new one added to the number. For in the time between the return of the Commissioners to London and their coming back to the Treaty, Sir John Culpepper being preferred to be Master of the Rolls, Mr. Hyde was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; who till that time, though he was known to be trusted in matters of the greatest importance, was not under any character in the Court.

"The first of these Counsellors was the Lord Littleton, Keeper of the Great Seal. His parts were very great in the profession of the law, but not very applicable to the business now in hand; and though, from the time of the king's coming to Oxford the king had confidence enough in him to leave the Seal in his custody, and he would have been glad to have done any service, yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn so great a disesteem upon him from most men, that he gave little reputation to the Council, and had little authority in it.

"*The Duke of Richmond* was nearest allied to the king's person of any man who was not descended from King James; the king had taken great care of his education, and married him to the daughter of his dead favourite, the Duke of Buckingham. As he had received great bounties from the king, so he sacrificed all he had to his service. He lent his Majesty at one time twenty thousand pounds together, and engaged his three brothers, all gallant gentlemen, in the service; in which they all lost their lives. Himself lived, with unspotted

fidelity some years after the murther of his master, and was suffered to put him into his grave.

"*The Marquis of Hertford* had a particular friendship with the Earl of Essex, whose sister he had married: his greatest acquaintance had been with those who had the reputation of being best affected to the liberty of the kingdom, and least in love with the humour of the Court. But as soon as he discerned their violent purposes against the Government, before he suspected their blacker designs, he severed himself from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurred with them in any vote dishonourable to the king, or in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford.

"*The Earl of Southampton* was indeed a great man in all respects, and brought very much reputation to the king's cause. He had great dislike of the high courses which had been taken by the Government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of Strafford for some exorbitant proceedings. But as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the king declined, and the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford to exceed the limits of justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceeding. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a counsellor, and longer before he would be of the bedchamber. He stayed with the king to the end of the war, taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards peace; and as no man was more punctual in performing his own duty, so no man had more melancholy apprehension of the issue of the war.

"*The Earl of Leicester* was of the Council, and sometimes present, but he desired not to have any part in the

business; and lay under many reproaches and jealousies which he deserved not; for he was a man of honour and fidelity to the king, and his greatest misfortunes proceeded from the staggering and irresolution in his nature.

"*The Earl of Bristol* had been in extraordinary favour with King James, who sent him ambassador to Spain before he was thirty years of age. He there treated and concluded the marriage between Charles the First and the Infanta, which was afterwards dissolved, and he was ultimately crushed by the power of the Duke of Buckingham. The king retained so strict a memory of all that Duke's friendships and displeasures, that the Earl of Bristol could never recover any admission to Court, but lived in the country in ease and plenty; in the beginning of the Parliament he appeared on the head of all the discontented party; but quickly left them when they entered upon their unwarrantable violences.

"*The Earl of Newcastle* was of the Council, but not at Oxford; he remained at Newcastle, having the king's commission to be General of those parts.

"*The Earl of Berkshire* was of the Council, but not yet at Oxford, having been taken prisoner in Oxfordshire, and committed to the Tower.

"*The Lord Seymour*, brother to the Marquis of Hertford, was a man of reputation, very popular in the country where he had lived, out of the grace of the Court: having a great friendship for the Earl of Strafford, he was by his interposition called to the House of Peers, where he carried himself very well in all things relating

to the Crown; and when the king went to York he left the Parliament, and followed his Majesty firm in his fidelity.

"*The Lord Savil* was likewise of the Council, being first Controller, and then Treasurer of the Household, in recompence of his discovery of all the treasons and conspiracies, after they had taken effect and could not be punished; in the end he behaved himself so ill that the king dismissed him from office, committed him to prison, and never after admitted him to his presence.

"Of the *Lord Falkland* and *Sir John Culpepper*, there hath been" (says Clarendon) "so much said before, that there is no occasion to add to it in this place. There will be reason too soon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never failed in his fidelity, will be very often mentioned throughout the history of these times.

"*Secretary Nicholas* was a very honest and industrious man, throughout his whole life a person of very good reputation and of singular integrity.

"There remain only two of the Council then at Oxford who are not yet named—*Sir John Bankes*, who had been Attorney-General, and was then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, a grave and a learned man in the profession of the law; and *Sir Peter Wych*, who had been ambassador at Constantinople. He was a very honest plain man, and died shortly after this period."

By the persons above named on behalf of the king and in his Majesty's presence on the one side, and by the Earl of Northumberland with the Commons Commissioners on the other, the conference was carried on

during twenty days with no favourable result, since the Houses of Parliament had in point of fact given no power to their Commissioners to treat, but only to make demands; and on the 12th of April, 1643, the king, desiring to obtain larger powers for these Commissioners, sent a message to the two houses by an express of his own, after he had first communicated it to their messengers at Oxford.

"The King," says Whitelock, who was one of the Parliamentary messengers (being member for Marlow), "used us with great favour and civility; divers of his lords and officers came frequently to our table, and we had very friendly discourses and treatments together.

"The King had commonly waiting on him, when he treated with us, Prince Rupert, the Lord Keeper Littleton, the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Chief Justice Bankes, and several lords of his Council, who never debated any matters with us, but gave their opinions to the king in those things which he demanded of them, and sometimes would put him in mind of some particular things; but otherwise they did not speak at all. In this treaty the king manifested his great parts and abilities, strength of reason and quickness of apprehension, with much patience in hearing what was objected against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and would himself sum up the arguments, and give a most clear judgment upon them." Whitelock goes on to say, "that it was Charles's unhappiness to have a better opinion of others' judgments than of his own, although they were the weaker." And he recites instances occurring in the

course of these discussions of an entire change in the king's opinions between his retirement at night and his appearance in Council the next morning. He had of course seen his secret counsellors in the intervening time. Sir Endymion Porter was supposed to be one of these, and had been accordingly proscribed by the Parliament, and declared incapable of pardon, at the time when the same censures were inflicted upon Hyde, and upon one or two others of those who attended upon the king.

Sir Edward Hyde (for he was at this time knighted) now appeared as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the very great astonishment of Sir John Culpepper, who had applied for the vacant office of Master of the Rolls, without the slightest notion that his acceptance of this was to have the effect of vacating the other. There were at this time of course no duties which the Master of the Rolls could discharge; and thus to find himself supplanted in a high post which had active duties attached to it, and this by an act of his own familiar friend, was a surprise so little agreeable, that Culpepper resisted the remonstrances as well of Lord Falkland as of Lord Digby, and positively refused to resign, until the King personally interposing required that concession from him.

Culpepper continued faithful, in spite of this mortification, to the Royal cause, and appears afterwards to have discharged the functions of Chief Minister of War with great assiduity, but not always with very happy success.

Sir Edward Hyde now appeared in a position more becoming and more constitutional than that which he

had occupied since the time when he became a secret adviser of the Crown. His appearance, however, at this particular time, as an avowed counsellor, was by no means a favourable circumstance for the issue of the pending negotiations. He had been proscribed and declared incapable of pardon by the Parliament; it was also a hindrance to the prospects of accommodation, that, in order to facilitate his introduction to office, a post had been filled up which the Commons had expressly requested should be reserved for the Speaker of their House.

The delay between the first mission from London and the second is therefore by no means surprising—and the positive injunction of treating no otherwise than personally with the king, was a consequence of the new adviser appearing now publicly recognized as one of the Royal Council. From Whitelock's account it should seem that Sir Edward Hyde still abstained from taking avowedly any leading part; it is remarkable that he is not even named by Whitelock as being present when matters relating to the proposed treaty were discussed; Prince Rupert, Lord Littleton, Lord Southampton, and the Lord Chief Justice Bankes, are the persons named as appearing most prominent on those occasions; and any propositions which had the concurrence of those four we may presume were not of a cowardly nature when assented to by Rupert; nor derogatory to the rights of the Crown, or to the liberties of the people, when sanctioned by Southampton; nor in any way violating the established laws of the realm, when approved of by two grave and experienced lawyers, responsible for their

opinions from the high legal positions which they occupied. Yet we find that counsels so approved and assented to by the king, after the most ample discussion, were on the next day rejected; and since there are not a few who throw the blame of Charles's infirmity of purpose on his queen, let it be remembered that she, though now in England, was as yet at a great distance from the Court.

The message sent by the king to the Parliament on the 12th of April received no answer whatsoever. But there came an imperative order to their Commissioners to return forthwith, requiring that they should set out on the same day when they received that notice. This was in every way disagreeable, and exceedingly inconvenient to these Commissioners, especially to the noble Commissioner who travelled in his coach and six, and who was famed for being methodical in his habits. But they all obeyed the order, though loudly expressing their abhorrence of many of the proceedings of the Parliament, and their earnest anxiety for such an accommodation as all good men desired.

On their return some of them were looked upon with great jealousy, as persons engaged by the king, and they on their part complained in London of the disrespectful and absurd breaking of the treaty with the king, and published the king's gracious disposition, and the temper of the Council in Oxford to be different from what the Parliament desired it should be believed.

The Earl of Northumberland, having discovered that Harry Martin, in the hope of detecting a supposed plot, had opened a letter which he had writ from Oxford to

his lady, took him aside after a conference in the Painted Chamber between the two Houses, and questioned him upon it; and the other justifying with insolence what he had done, for the Parliament had sanctioned it, the Earl cudgelled him in that presence; upon which many swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the Parliament.

These, and the like instances of distraction and confusion, brought the reputation of the party low; and made it looked upon as like to destroy itself without an enemy, whilst the king's party seemed to be more united and were now high in spirits, occupied by nightly incursions upon the quarters of the enemy, which they often beat up with success. Some of these parties, in their nocturnal expeditions, proceeding through unusual lanes, went often near to London, and captured many prisoners, who thought themselves secure in their dwellings. These men they put to ransom themselves with good sums of money, and thus, instead of the safe tranquillity and absence of imposts which had been promised, the citizens were more importuned for money than they ever had been before; and instead of dispersing the king's army, and bringing the king back in a triumph of their own to Parliament, a sudden direction was given to draw a line about the cities of London and Westminster, and to fortify it, lest the king's forces might break in upon them.

Yet so far were they from any thoughts of peace and accommodation, that the House of Commons raged more furiously than ever, and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous than they had yet en-

tered upon. For the supply of the charge of the war they proposed settling and imposing an excise upon such commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the people of England had hitherto reproached other nations with, as a mark of slavery, and never feared that it should come upon themselves. It came, however; and if the nation ever again shall rail against it, let them remember that it was not by the upholders of the Crown that this impost of foreign origin was first naturalized in Great Britain.

Between the first overtures in January and the further proceedings in March, the Queen had landed from Holland.

The year which she had spent at the Hague had been actively employed, and, through the favour of the Prince of Orange, with success. In despite of an agent sent by the Parliament, the Queen was permitted to complete her preparations, and almost openly to load a number of vessels with warlike stores, and to enlist many officers and some troops. A Dutch fleet was likewise sent to escort her. She seems to have interested the people of Holland in her fate, and to have been well treated by them.

The fleet by which she was attended consisted at first of eleven sail, but a tempest drove her back, and compelled her again to land near the Hague. Two of her ships perished, but, after reposing herself for a fortnight, she put to sea once more with the remaining nine, and landed safely in Bridlington Bay* about the end of February.

On the second day after her arrival, Batten, Vice-

* Burlington Bay.

Admiral under the Earl of Warwick, who had waited to intercept her passage, came into Bridlington Roads with four men-of-war, and cannonaded the place with such effect that the balls struck the house in which the Queen was passing the night. Lord Jermyn came and informed her that she was in extreme danger, and must make her escape; and, attended by the Duchess of Richmond and other ladies, she took shelter under the banks of a deep glen near the town; before she got, however, to this refuge, the Queen, having missed her little dog, returned through the bombardment herself to fetch it, not thinking fit to expose the life of any of her attendants on such an errand.

In the mean time, Tromp, the Dutch Admiral, sent a message to Batten, requiring him to cease firing, or he "would not be a looker-on." A part of the Earl of Newcastle's army was quartered at Bridlington awaiting her Majesty's arrival; and the Earl himself soon joined and conducted her in safety to York.

At York the Queen remained for some time stationary.

The jealousy which the Parliament entertained in regard to the queen's religion, their displeasure also at her removal of the Crown jewels and sale of them in a foreign country, the influence which she was known to exercise over the mind of the king, newly evidenced by some letters which the Parliament had lately intercepted, —all these circumstances rendered it expedient that the queen should not approach the Court so long as any possible chance could exist of accommodation with any of the Parliamentary leaders.

The Queen, never idle, employed herself in many ne-

gotiations, some of which had successful terminations; she secured Scarborough, and prevailed in establishing a good understanding with the Hothams, which Charles had been unable to accomplish.

In the month of May her Majesty directed her march southwards, making pauses at some considerable places, where she greatly increased her forces; the pieces of cannon which had been brought from Holland followed in her train. She adopted a military mode of life, travelling on horseback; and her meals, served in the open fields, were of a similar quality with the rations of the soldiers. The troops became warmly attached to her—proud of a leader who was so anxious to earn their affection.

On the 13th of July Charles met his Queen near Edgehill. He received her with heartfelt joy, and with exultation when he beheld in the new army which now stood around him the fruits of her active endeavours; the prospects of the Royal cause appearing in many respects to have a brighter aspect than when the first encounter had begun in the battle-field, which was now again before him.

We have arrived at a period when Corfe Castle will again take its place in the annals of the kingdom, and the lady, the inhabitant at this date, who has justly been styled the heroine of Corfe Castle, must be introduced to those who may wish to hear more of its story.

This lady, wife of Sir John Bankes, was a daughter of the very ancient family of the Hawtreys, whose place of residence was at Rislip, in the county of Middlesex. They were of Norman descent, having come into this country at the time of the Conquest. A large portion

LADY BANKES, Wife of the Right Honourable Sir John Bankes, Chief Justice, C.P.

This Lady, during her husband's absence and after his death, defended Corfe Castle during three years in the time of the Great Rebellion.

of the flat pavement of the church of Rislip consists at this day of the tombs of the different generations of the Hawtreys.

We can furnish no more full or faithful account of the proceedings of this brave lady, than by giving them as related in the words of the well-known diurnal of the day, 'The Mercurius Rusticus.'

"There is in the Isle of Purbeck a strong castle called Corfe Castle, seated on a very steep hill, in the fracture of a hill in the very midst of it, being eight miles in length, running from the east end of the peninsula to the west; and though it stands between the two ends of this fracture, so that it might seem to lose much advantage of its natural and artificial strength as commanded from thence, being in height equal to, if not overlooking the tops of the highest towers of the castle; yet the structure of the castle is so strong, the ascent so steep, the walls so massive and thick, that it is one of the impregnablest forts of the kingdom, and of very great concernment in respect of its command over the island and the places about it. This castle is now the possession and inheritance of the Right Honourable Sir John Bankes, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, who, receiving commands from the king to attend him at York in Easter Term, 1642, had leave from the two houses to obey his commands. After the unhappy differences between the king and the two houses, or rather between the king and the faction in both houses, grew high, it being generally feared that the sword would decide the controversy, the Lady Bankes, a virtuous and prudent

lady, resolved, with her children and family, to retire to this castle, there to shelter themselves from the storm which she saw coming, which accordingly she did; there she and her family remained in peace all the winter and a great part of the spring, until May, 1643, about which time the rebels, under the command of Sir Walter Erle, Sir Thomas Trenchard, and others, had possessed themselves of Dorchester, Lyme, Melcombe, Weymouth, Wareham, and Poole (Portland Castle being treacherously delivered to the rebels), only Corfe Castle remaining in obedience to the king; but the rebels, knowing how much it concerned them to add this castle to their other garrisons, to make all the sea-coast wholly for them, and thinking it more feasible to gain it by treachery than open hostility, resolved to lay hold of an opportunity coming on to see if they could become masters of it.

"There is an ancient usage that the Mayor and Barons, as they call them, of Corfe Castle, accompanied by the gentry of the island, have permission from the lord of the Castle, on May-day, to course a stag, which every year is performed with much solemnity and great concourse of people. On this day some troops of horse from Dorchester and other places came into the island, intending to find other game than to hunt the stag, their business being suddenly to surprise the gentlemen in the hunting, and to take the castle; the news of their coming dispersed the hunters and spoiled the sport of that day, and made the Lady Bankes to give order for the safe custody of the castle gates, and to keep them shut against all comers. The troopers having missed

their prey on the hills (the gentlemen having withdrawn themselves), some of them came to the castle under a pretence to see it, but, entrance being denied them, the common soldiers used threatening language, casting out words implying some intentions to take the castle; but the commanders (who better knew how to conceal their resolutions) utterly disavowed any such thought, denying that they had any such commission; however, the Lady Bankes very wisely and like herself, hence took occasion to call in a guard to assist her, not knowing how soon she might have occasion to make use of them, it being now more than probable that the rebels had a design upon the castle. The taking in this guard as it *secured* her at *home*, so it rendered her *suspected* abroad; from thenceforward there was a watchful and vigilant eye to survey all her actions; whatsoever she sends out or sends for in is suspected; her ordinary provisions for her family are by fame multiplied and reported to be more than double what indeed they were, as if she now had an intention to victual and man the castle against the forces of the two Houses of Parliament; presently letters are sent from the Committee at Poole to demand the four small pieces in the castle, and the pretence was because the islanders conceived strange jealousies that the pieces were mounted and put on their carriages. Hereupon the Lady Bankes despatched messengers to Dorchester and Poole to entreat the Commissioners that the small pieces might remain in the castle for her own defence; and to take away the ground of the islanders' jealousies, she caused the pieces to be taken off their carriages again: hereupon a promise was made that they

should be left to her possession. But there passed not many days before forty seamen (they in the castle not suspecting any such thing) came very early in the morning to demand the pieces; the lady in person (early as it was) goes to the gates, and desires to see their warrant; they produced one, under the hands of some of the Commissioners; but instead of delivering them, though at the time there were but five men in the castle, yet these five, assisted by the maid-servants, at their lady's command, mount these pieces on their carriages again, and loading one of them they gave fire, which small thunder so affrighted the seamen that they all quitted the castle and ran away. They being gone, by beat of drum she summons help into the castle, and upon the alarm given a very considerable guard of tenants and friends came in to her assistance, there being withal some fifty arms brought into the castle from several parts of the island: this guard was kept in the castle about a week. During this time many threatening letters were sent unto the lady, telling her what great forces should be sent to fetch them if she would not by fair mains be persuaded to deliver them; and to deprive her of her auxiliaries, all or most of them being neighbours thereabouts, they threaten that, if they oppose the delivery of them, they would fire their houses: presently their wives come to the castle, there they weep and wring their hands, and with clamorous oratory persuade their husbands to come home, and not by saving others to expose their own houses to spoil and ruin. Now, to reduce the castle into a distressed condition, they did not only intercept two hundredweight of powder,

provided against a siege, but they interdict them the liberty of common markets. Proclamation is made at Wareham (a market-town hard by) that no beef, beer, or other provisions should be sold to Lady Bankes or for her use; strict watches are kept that no messenger shall pass into or out of the castle. Being thus distressed, all means of victualling the castle being taken away, and being but slenderly furnished for a siege, either with ammunition or with victual, at last they came to a treaty of composition, of which the result was that the Lady Bankes should deliver up those four small pieces, the biggest carrying not above a three-pound bullet, and that the rebels should permit her to enjoy the castle and arms in it in peace and quietness.

"And though this wise lady knew too well to rest satisfied or secured in these promises, (their often breach of faith having sufficiently instructed her what she might expect from them), yet she was glad of this opportunity to strengthen herself even by that means by which many in the world thought she had done herself much prejudice; for the rebels, being now possessed of their guns, presumed the castle to be theirs, as sure as if they had actually possessed it.

"Now it was no more but ask and have; hereupon they grew remiss in their watches, negligent in their observations, not heeding what was brought in, nor taking care as before to intercept supplies which might enable them to hold out against a siege; and the lady, making good use of this remissness, laid hold on the present opportunity, and as much as the time would permit furnished the castle with provisions of all sorts. In this

interval there was brought in an hundred and a half of powder, and a quantity of match proportionable. And understanding that the king's forces, under the conduct of Prince Maurice and the Marquis of Hertford, were advancing towards Blandford, she, by her messenger, made her address to them to signify unto them the present condition in which they were, the great consequence of the place, desiring their assistance, and in particular that they would be pleased to take into their serious consideration to send some commanders thither to take the charge of the castle; hereupon they send Captain Lawrence, son of Sir Edward Lawrence, a gentleman of that island, to command in chief; but he, coming without a commission, could not command moneys or provisions to be brought in until it was too late.

"There was likewise in the castle one Captain Bond, an old soldier, whom I should deprive of his due honour not to mention him, having shared in the honour of this resistance. The first time the rebels faced the castle they brought a body of between two and three hundred horse and foot and two pieces of ordnance, and from the hills played on the castle, fired four houses in the town, and then summoned the castle; but, receiving a denial for that time, they left it. But on the three-and-twentieth of June the sagacious knight Sir Walter Erle (that hath the gift of discerning treasons, and might have made up his nine-and-thirty treasons forty, by reckoning in his own), accompanied by Captain Sidenham, Captain Henry Jervis, Captain Skuts, son of the arch-traitor Skuts of Poole, with a body of between five and six hundred, came and possessed themselves of the town, taking the

opportunity of a misty morning, that they might find no resistance from the castle.

"They brought with them to the siege a demi-cannon, a culverin, and two sacres; with these and their small shot they played on the castle on all quarters of it with good observation of advantages, making their battery strongest where they thought the castle weakest. And to bind the soldiers by tie of conscience to an eager prosecution of the siege they administer them an oath and mutually bind themselves to most unchristian resolutions, that, if they found the defendants obstinate not to yield, they would maintain the siege to victory, and then deny quarter unto all, killing without mercy men, women, and children. And to bring on their own soldiers they abused them with falsehoods, telling them that the castle stood on a level, yet with good advantages of approach; that there were but forty men in the castle, whereof twenty were for them; that there was rich booty and the like: so, during the siege they used all base unworthy means to corrupt the defendants to betray the castle into their hands; the better sort they endeavour to corrupt with bribes, to the rest they offer double pay and the whole plunder of the castle. When all these arts took no effect, then they fall to stratagems and engines; one they call the 'sow' and the other the 'boar,' being made with boards lined with wool to dead the shot. The first that moved forward was the sow, but not being musket-proof she cast nine of eleven of her farrow; for the musketiers from this castle were so good marksmen at their legs, the only part of all their bodies left without defence, that nine ran away as well

as their broken and battered legs would give them leave, and of the two which knew neither how to run away nor well to stay for fear, one was slain.

"The boar, of the two (a man would think), the valianter creature, seeing the ill success of the sow to cast her litter before her time, durst not advance. The most advantageous part of their batteries was the church, which they without fear of profanation used, not only as their rampart but their rendezvous: of the surplice they made two shirts for two soldiers; they broke down the organ and made the pipes serve for cases to hold their powder and shot; and not being furnished with musket-bullets, they cut off the lead of the church and rolled up and shoot it without ever casting it in a mould. Sir Walter and the commanders were earnest to press forward the soldiers, but, as prodigal as they were of the blood of the common soldiers, they were sparing enough of their own. It was a general observation that valiant Sir Walter never willingly exposed himself to any hazard, for, being by chance endangered with a bullet-shot through his coat, afterwards he put on a bear's skin; and to the eternal honour of this knight's valour be it recorded, for fear of musket-shot (for others they had none) he was seen to creep on all four on the sides of the hill to keep himself from danger. This base cowardice of the assailants added courage and resolution to the defendants: therefore, not compelled by want, but rather to brave the rebels, they sallied out and brought in eight cows and a bull into the castle without the loss of a man or a man wounded. At another time five boys fetched in four cows. They that stood on the hills called to one in a

house in the valley, crying, 'Shoot, Anthony;' but Anthony thought it good to sleep in a whole skin and durst not look out, so that afterwards it grew into a proverbial jeer from the defendants to the assailants, 'Shoot, Anthony.' The rebels having spent much time and ammunition, and some men, and yet being as far from hopes of taking the castle as the first day they came thither, at last the Earl of Warwick sends them a supply of an hundred and fifty mariners, with several cart-loads of petards, grannadoes, and other warlike provisions, with scaling-ladders to assault the castle by scaladoe. They make large offers to him who shall first scale the wall—twenty pounds to the first, and so by descending sums a reward to the twentieth; but all this could not avail with these silly wretches, who were brought thither, as themselves confessed, like sheep to the slaughter, some of them having exchanged the manner of their death, the halter for the bullet, having taken them out of gaols: one of them being taken prisoner had letters testimonial in his hands whence he came; the letters I mean when he was burnt for a felon being very visible to the beholders: but when they found that persuasion could not prevail with such abject low spirited-men, the commanders resolve on another course, which was to make them drunk, knowing that drunkenness makes some men fight like lions, that being sober would run away like hares. To this purpose they fill them with strong waters, even to madness, and ready they are now for any design; and for fear Sir Walter should be valiant against his will, like Cæsar, he was the only man almost that came sober to the assault; an imitation of the Turkish practice (for

certainly there can be nothing of Christianity in it, to send poor souls to God's judgment-seat in the very act of two grievous sins, rebellion and drunkenness), who to stupify their soldiers and make them insensible of their dangers give them opium. Being now armed with drink, they resolve to storm the castle on all sides and apply their scaling-ladders, it being ordered by the leaders (if I may, without a solecism, call them so that stood behind and did not so much as follow) that when twenty were entered they should give a watch-word to the rest, and that was Old Wat, a word ill chosen by Sir Watt Erle, and, considering the business in hand, little better than ominous, for if I be not deceived the hunters that beat bushes for the fearful timorous hare call him Old Watt.

"Being now pot-valiant and possessed with a borrowed courage which was to evaporate in sleep, they divide their forces into two parties, whereof one assaults the middle ward, defended by valiant Captain Lawrence and the greater part of the soldiers; the other assault the upper ward, which the Lady Bankes (to her eternal honour be it spoken), with her daughters, women, and five soldiers, undertook to make good against the rebels, and did bravely perform what she undertook; for by heaving over stones and hot embers they repelled the rebels and kept them from climbing the ladders, thence to throw in that wildfire which every rebel had already in his hand. Being repelled, and having in this seige and this assault lost and hurt an hundred men, Old Sir Watt, hearing that the king's forces were advanced, cried and ran away crying, leaving Sydenham to command in chief, to bring

off the ordnance, ammunition, and the remainder of the army, who, afraid to appear abroad, kept sanctuary in the church till night, meaning to sup and run away by starlight; but supper being ready and set on the table, an alarm was given that the king's forces were coming. This news took away Sydenham's stomach; all this provision was but messes of meat set before the sepulchres of the dead: he leaves his artillery, ammunition, and (which with these men is something) a good supper, and ran away to take boat for Poole, leaving likewise at the shore about an hundred horse to the next takers, which next day proved good prize to the soldiers of the castle. Thus after six weeks' strict siege, this castle, the desire of the rebels, the tears of Old Sir Watt, and the key of those parts, by the loyalty and brave resolution of this honourable lady, the valour of Captain Lawrence and some eighty soldiers (by the loss only of two men), was delivered from the bloody intentions of these merciless rebels on the fourth of August, 1643."

Lord Clarendon gives in fewer words a similar account of these gallant actions.

Various causes combined to induce this furious assault upon the castle of Sir John Bankes at this particular time. He was now upon the Summer Circuit; and when presiding at the assizes at Salisbury, he had in his charge to the grand jury denounced the Earl of Essex, Lord Manchester, and others, as guilty of high treason for continuing in arms against the king. Another serious subject of offence consisted in the fact of his having subscribed liberally to the necessities of the king, for which the royal acknowledgment, warmly expressed

in the king's own handwriting, remains with the descendants of. Sir John at this day. For this act, by virtue of an ordinance of the Parliament, he forfeited all property, as well real and personal, and for his charge to the grand jury he was denounced as a traitor to the state.

An ordinance of the London Parliament had been promulgated early in the year 1643, by which it was declared that the estates, as well real as personal, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, and of all such bishops, deans, prebends, archdeacons, and all such other person or persons as had raised arms against the Parliament, or had voluntarily contributed, or should contribute, any money, horse, plate, arms, munition, or other aid or assistance for or towards the maintenance of any forces raised against the Parliament, or for the opposing of any force or power raised by authority of both Houses of Parliament, should be forthwith seized and sequestered into the hands of the sequestrators and committee in that ordinance named and appointed.

Sequestrators to the number of seventeen were appointed for the county of Dorset, and amongst many names unknown to fame, several appear in this list belonging to the best esteemed and most ancient families of the county. They are ranged in the Act and Ordinance of April 1, 1643, as follows:—

KNIGHTS.

Denzill Holles.
Sir Thomas Trenchard.
Sir Walter Erle.

ESQUIRES.

John Brown.	William Savage.
Thomas Tregonwell.	Robert Butler.
John Bingham.	William Sidenham, jun.
John Hanham.	Richard Rose.
John Trenchard.	John Henley.
Dennis Bond.	Thomas Ceeley.
Richard Broderip.	Thomas Erle.

Of two of these we have already had occasion to make particular relation; a third, Sir Thomas Trenchard, was, like the others, a person of ancient family, having inherited a mansion of considerable antiquity, called Wolverton, a part of which remains habitable at this day, situated within a mile of the town of Dorchester. The hall of Wolverton was decorated with many curious carvings in oak; amongst these were figures representing every king who had worn the crown of England, from the earliest period, concluding with the figure of the then reigning sovereign. On the day of the meeting of this fatal Parliament, November 3, 1640, Sir Thomas Trenchard was entertaining a large company in this hall, when during the progress of the banquet the sceptre fell from the carved image of Charles I., adding another to the many sad auguries which heralded his approaching destiny

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE RAISING OF THE SIEGE IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST, 1643, UNTIL THE FINAL BETRAYAL AND DESTRUCTION OF THE CASTLE IN THE SPRING OF 1646, AND THE ESCAPE OF THE KING ABOUT THE SAME TIME FROM THE CITY OF OXFORD.

FEW portions of the kingdom and not many private families in England were now undisturbed, for the actual presence of civil war, or the rumours of its near approach, shook the domestic happiness as well of the highest as of the humblest classes, and carried grief and apprehension throughout the land. The King's beloved consort was now become of necessity a Queen on horseback, and after many months of separation the royal pair met again, and with joyful hope—but their meeting was on a field of battle.

The grave and learned judge, closing the labours of his circuit, returned after a long absence to his home, and in its battered walls was welcomed by his wife who had become a heroine, and by children who had endless stories to relate of their invincible prowess in the days of danger. He found his castle safe, his property preserved, but the church which stood in front of his castle gate was unroofed and desecrated, the shops in the little town plundered, and all that would burn of the stone-built cottages around destroyed by conflagration.

The poor families thus expelled found their refuge

within the walls which they had so faithfully helped to defend. There was much however to render this a joyful meeting at Corfe Castle, for it seemed as if the sun of the king's fortunes, arrested in its decline, stood still in the west, with a brilliant lustre that gave hope of a better morrow.

Lord Clarendon thus describes this period:—"The king's forces now moved in the west with a full gale and tide of success. The Earl of Caernarvon marched with the horse and dragoons, being near two thousand, into Dorsetshire, two days before that Prince Maurice moved with his foot and cannon from Bristol, and the Earl had many a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole county before his Highness overtook him; and it was thought then that, if the Prince had marched more slowly, the Earl had perfected that work. Upon the surrender of Bristol to Prince Rupert, many of the gentlemen and others of the county, who were engaged in that city for the Parliament, had visited their houses and friends in their journey to London, whither by their safe-conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the cavaliers, that resisting them begun to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr. Strode, a man much relied on in those parts, and of good fortune, after he had visited his house, took Dorchester in his way to London, and, being desired by the magistrates 'to view their works and fortifications, and to give his judgment of them,' after he had walked about them, he told them 'That those works might keep out the cavaliers about half an hour,' and then related

strange stories of the manner of assaulting Bristol, 'and that the king's soldiers made nothing of running up walls twenty foot high, and that no wall could keep them out;' which he said not out of any purpose to betray them (for no man wished the king's army worse success), but he had really so much horror and consternation about him, and the dreadful image of the storm of Bristol imprinted on his mind, that he did truly believe they had scaled all those forts and places which were delivered up to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of Caernarvon no sooner approached Dorchester with his horse and dragoons but the town sent commissioners to him to treat; and upon articles of indemnity that they should not be plundered, and not suffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the town, which was strongly situated, and might very well have been defended; arms, ammunition, and ordnance were captured here.

"The fame of the Earl's coming" (continues Lord Clarendon) "had before frighted Sir Walter Erle, who had for a long time besieged Corfe Castle (the house of the Lord Chief Justice Bankes, defended by his lady with her servants, and some few gentlemen and tenants, who betook themselves thither for her assistance and security), from that siege; and, he making more haste to convey himself to London than generals use to do who have the care and charge of others, his forces were presently dispersed; and now the surrender of Dorchester (the magazine from whence the other places were supplied) infused the same spirit into Weymouth, a

very convenient harbour and haven: and the example again prevailed on the island and castle of Portland (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance), to all which the Earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his Majesty's protection."

Previous successes of high importance had given rise to this happy turn of affairs in Dorsetshire: on the 13th of July Sir William Waller's army had been totally defeated at Roundway Down, near Devizes, and on the 26th of the same month the rash attempt of Prince Rupert upon Bristol had been crowned with success, through the alarm which the wondrous valour of his troops conveyed to the governor, who surrendered when the assailants were masters only of the suburbs. For this surrender, Nathaniel Fiennes the governor received sentence of death from a court martial, which sentence was afterwards commuted to a dismissal from the army; he was a son of the Lord Say and Seale.

In the preceding month, June 18th, during a skirmish which took place on Chalgrove-field in Buckinghamshire, between the royal cavalry under Rupert and some advanced posts of Essex's army, Hampden received the wound of which he died in a few days. A clergyman of a neighbouring parish transmitted the intelligence to the king's quarters. Sir Philip Warwick introduced the messenger to the royal presence, and Warwick says in his Memoirs, "I found the king would have sent him over any chirurgeon of his, if any had been wanting."

The Parliamentary party in London was now in great difficulties: republican principles were already openly avowed by a few: Harry Martin had in the House of

Commons given utterance to the sentiment that it was better that one family—and he confessed that he alluded to the royal one—should be destroyed rather than the whole people. The words were at this time censured it is true, and he was sent to the Tower; but he expressed the feelings and wishes entertained by many, and his imprisonment was of no long duration.

The Independent sect was beginning to uplift its head in rivalry with the Presbyterian, both having hitherto been considered as united in the Puritan party. The daring enthusiasm of the first of these broke forth in declarations highly alarming to all who were not prepared to sanction the most extreme measures. The small remnant of the House of Lords yet continuing in London combined with the purpose of carrying a motion for concluding a peace. The names of Northumberland, Bedford, Holland, and Clare sanctioned their proceedings, and there was reason to believe that the Earl of Essex was willing to support them. He had openly complained of great neglect on the part of the Parliament with regard to his own repeated applications for the better supply of his troops: The Parliament in fact began now to entertain a great jealousy of him, being apprehensive that he might march upon London, and take the course which a more daring spirit did afterwards so effectually accomplish.

In the House of Commons, on the question relative to propositions for peace, a motion for adjournment was carried by two voices.

Some more members of the House of Peers upon this repaired to the king, and the functions of that branch of

the legislature, though not yet abolished, were virtually at an end.

The pulpits in London were set again into vigorous action, to rouse the fainting spirits of the populace.

The fortifying of London was carried on with unceasing activity, the defences embraced a circuit of twelve miles, and the Parliament deputed a committee to wait upon the Earl of Essex, to soothe his wounded feelings, and to assure him of the earliest attention to his demands in regard to the supply of clothing and money to satisfy the arrears due to his soldiers.

The great question now to be decided was, how should the king dispose of the triumphant force which had captured Bristol. The queen had no hesitation in advising an immediate march upon the capital; and the Parliament fully expected that course would have been taken.

It is a striking exception to the supposed unbounded influence of the queen over her husband, which has by almost every writer been recorded to the king's disadvantage, that her advice and intreaties had in this instance no effect, and the Master of the Rolls, Sir John Culpepper, originated the unfortunate plan of operation, in which Clarendon does not record that he had himself any participation.

On the 10th of August the king, nobly attended, arrived before Gloucester.

The garrison did not exceed fifteen hundred men; the fortifications, large in extent, were in a very unfinished state; the store of powder very scanty, and provisions

not abundant. To all appearance the siege of this city would be successfully terminated in a very few days; but the loss even of a few days was too large a price to pay for a conquest which was of little importance, if the other plan of investing London offered a fair promise of success. The resistance of Gloucester saved London; Essex had time given him to march to its relief, and the celebrity of this exploit gained for him new acclamations, and bound him by additional ties to the cause of the Parliament.

Essex desired to return to London without a battle, but this the superiority of Rupert's cavalry prevented, and on the 19th of September, when approaching Newbury, he found the royal army, with the king in person, so posted as to render a battle unavoidable. The fight began soon after six o'clock in the morning of the 20th of September, and continued with very hot service until between 10 and 11 at night. The body-guard of the king, consisting almost entirely of gentlemen, exerted themselves most gallantly throughout this long and sanguinary combat.

The result of this battle would have given no decided advantage to either party, had not irreparable losses occurred to the king in the deaths of three of the noblest and bravest of his supporters, Lord Falkland, the Earl of Carnarvon, and the Earl of Sunderland.

The two first of these perished by the rash valour of their conduct, and they both seemed to have an inclination to welcome death; the first oppressed by morbid feelings derived from various causes, in which political anxieties had a predominant share, for he had never

enjoyed one cheerful moment from the time when this unnatural contest had commenced.

The Earl of Carnarvon's high and generous spirit had received mortification from the circumstance of his stipulations made at Dorchester and at Weymouth, when those places had surrendered to him, not having been implicitly observed.

Of all the king's trials, the dissensions amongst those who supported him were the most severe; and many a breach of faith which was imputed to him arose from circumstances of which he never received the slightest intimation.

The preponderance of the king's successes was, however, still preserved by continued successes in the west; Exeter surrendered to the army of Prince Maurice on the 25th of September, and Dartmouth on the 6th of October.

Early in the year 1643 a publication had appeared which attracted much attention; of this a copy is found amongst the papers of Sir John Bankes, which has a multitude of interlineations in his own handwriting, as if in preparation for a second edition. Whether he was principally concerned in the production of this publication is not known: the sentiments herein expressed seem to accord very precisely with those which he entertained. As there will not be found anywhere a more clear or correct view of the state of parties at this particular period, a few extracts are inserted from this work, called 'The Moderator.'

"Expecting sudden peace or certain ruin."

"Tales casus Cassandra canebat."—VIRGIL.

"Amongst the many complaints posterity may justly take up against us, it shall never be said that we did all wilfully blind the eyes of our reason, and would not see the evils which, with an unveiled face, showed themselves in their full horror, before they came upon us.

"We are now arrived almost to the extremities of ill; and yet some believe that there is a way to grow better, by growing worse; I pray Heaven this paradox may not undo us.

"In the early part of this contestation the respective parties encountered each other with invective declarations (worse than gun-shots), which heightened the quarrel, and invited the amused people to lay aside their peace, and show themselves on which side they would rather choose to hazard their fortunes.

"A set battle hath been fought with almost equal loss and success, as if Heaven had told us we are both in fault; both worthy of an overthrow, but neither of us of victory.

"The true character of a moderate man I conceive to be this. He is one that could never be so well satisfied of the necessity why this war began as he is now why it should see an end, and who knows not how to pray for a victory; one that in earnest loves the King, and thinks him essential to the well-being of a Parliament; one that honours, not adores, the Parliament, because he sees they also are but men, and rather wishes them what they should be than omnipotent. One that would have his religion nor gaudy nor stripped stark naked. One that is sorry to see it more seasonable than safe to

speak the truth. One that would have peace, not as an effect of war, but of accommodation.

"This discourse, being grounded upon our immediate condition, may in many things perhaps be out of date ere a few days pass, and be like an almanack calculated for the last year.

"The cause which was the most dangerous at the first, and had the least merit in it, may, through the extremities of the contrary party, be safest and most deserving at the last; and though an even and moderate man be unwilling to engage himself in war on either side, yet, if it shall appear by the perverseness of any that no hope, no possibility of peace be left him but by the sword, it will then be held the best piety to be a soldier.

"As for victory, it is not easily conceivable upon what ground any judicious man and lover of his country can rationally desire it, or, if he should, yet it seems still as difficult to imagine what grounds he can have to hope for it; the strength of both parties being of late more equally poised than before. 'Tis commonly granted that with his Majesty there are the generality of the nobility, gentry, and clergy throughout the whole kingdom, and a great part of the people everywhere, who of late do fall off from the other side every day more and more; so that, if he should perhaps have the worst in one battle, yet the estates, reputation, abilities, with the multitudes of those that are engaged on his side in several places, would be able to repair his force again, and to hold out for a lasting war. As for supply of money, 'tis as easily imaginable how he should get more, as how he should have got so much.

"On the Parliament side there are, beside some nobility, gentry, and clergy, the greatest part of the commonalty, the corporations, forts, and navy. Nor is it without ground suspected that many of those that fall from them do it to save charges and for fear of future payments. In which kind, when his Majesty shall expect their assistance, they are like to prove as useless to him as they were before to the Parliament. So that, though we should suppose as many of the people to fall off from this side as may probably be suspected, yet those that are cordially engaged will be able to hold out so long in the civil war till the whole kingdom be ruined."

Such were the opinions of nine-tenths of the population in the year 1643, and yet the war went on. There were no persons now who had any powers to negotiate: the Earls of Holland, Clare, and Bedford were at this time in the king's quarters at Oxford, but they were there because their influence in Parliament was at an end; and finding little encouragement at the Court, hardly meeting with civil treatment from the courtiers, they withdrew, and were again disposed to belong to the Parliamentary party. The Earl of Northumberland had retired to Petworth.

In the month of December the king issued summonses for a meeting of the Parliament at Oxford; Charles was very much perplexed how to maintain the war in the ensuing campaign, knowing what active preparations were proceeding on the side of the Parliament. He had been charged, before these troubles commenced, with exacting money from his subjects without consent of

Parliament. He had owned the charge, and had for the future redressed that grievance, protesting that he did this freely and willingly. Since the war began he and his counsellors, in their declarations, had never ceased to accuse the two houses, and with perfect truth, of the same arbitrary actions for which the king had been so severely upbraided. If for the maintenance of his forces Charles had imposed taxes by his sole authority, he could not have reproached the two houses for doing the same thing. Money, however, was to be found at any rate. Hitherto he had used several ways to raise money without giving any advantage against him, partly by selling or mortgaging the Crown lands, and largely by the voluntary contributions of his well-wishers. But the means he had already used were too uncertain to be safely relied on.

He sought, therefore, and found an expedient to free himself from this difficulty. He assembled at Oxford all the Members who had been driven from the Parliament in London, and publicly declared he no longer looked upon those assemblages at Westminster as a Parliament. He did not expect this new Parliament would increase the number of his friends, but he could reasonably hope it would grant him an aid of money, and that, being authorized by such an act, he might openly and by way of authority levy what money was necessary for his service.

This Parliament, assembled in the Great Hall of Christchurch, met in obedience to the Royal proclamation on the 22nd of January, 1644. One hundred and eighteen Members of the House of Commons gave their

attendance: amongst these was Sir John Borlace; and the Chief Justice, now again at Oxford, had the satisfaction of meeting there both of his eldest daughters, with their husbands. For this act of obedience to the king's summons, Sir John Borlace was declared by the London House of Commons to have forfeited the seat for Corfe Castle.

The King in his speech, when opening the Session of this Parliament, told them that he had assembled them to receive their advice, and consult with them how to appease the troubles of the kingdom.

The first step taken by this Parliament was to try to convince the public of their intention to labour for peace. To this end a letter was sent to the Earl of Essex, signed by the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, forty-three peers, and a hundred and eighteen members of the House of Commons.

The purport of this communication was to express their most earnest desire that some persons on either part should be appointed to treat of such a peace as might yet redeem their country from the brink of destruction. The Earl of Essex returned a short answer, to the effect that the letter he had received not being addressed to the two Houses of Parliament, nor any acknowledgment of them being found therein, he could not communicate it to those whom he served. It is impossible to understand what remote chance of success Sir Edward Hyde could have had in contemplation, when he advised that a person situated as Essex then was, should be invited to acknowledge as a Parliament the party which had denounced him as a traitor, and to re-

pudiate or allow to be questioned the power of those under whose authority he acted. The weakness of his character must have been even greater than Clarendon represents it to have been, if he could have fallen into so palpable a trap as this. The project not only failed, but it brought ridicule on those who had promoted the endeavour. In the streets of London were hawked about copies of the humble petition of the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, praying humbly for peace and forgiveness for their trespasses: and after this failure other attempts were made quite as unpromising in their nature, the result of which was the outbreak of a new paper war. After the dreadful realities of hostile encounters, the renewal of such combats could have no useful effect, but they tended to keep vividly alive the exasperation of all parties.

The mode of supplying the king's urgent necessities was the only object which there was any chance of pursuing with effect in the Oxford Parliament, and this difficult subject could be touched only with the greatest care and delicacy. They did not venture beyond the extent of sanctioning the king's issue of privy seals for a loan of one hundred thousand pounds, themselves setting the example of a liberal subscription, which was followed very generally by persons of substance within the royal quarters. This Parliament also granted to the king the same duties of excise which had been imposed by the Parliament in London.

From that time nothing of any moment was attempted by this Parliament, which, sitting till the 16th of April, was then prorogued to the month of October, and never

met again; having, as Rapin observes, served only to procure money for the King, and to exhibit a spectacle never before seen in England, namely, two Parliaments at once, holding their sessions at the same time.

On the day following the prorogation of the Parliament the Queen quitted Oxford for Exeter, not imagining that she now quitted her royal consort for the last time. Her removal was wisely resolved upon, for in little more than a month from this time Essex advanced upon Oxford with intention of laying siege to that city. The King, however, quitting it and passing with considerable risk between two of the Parliamentary armies, arrived safely at Worcester. On the 16th of June the Queen gave birth, at Exeter, to a daughter, christened Henrietta, who was afterwards celebrated for her powers of fascination added to natural beauty, and for her untimely and mysterious death when married to the Duke of Orleans.

There had been no opportunity for making suitable preparations for the reception of the Queen at Exeter; she was, in fact, in a very destitute condition when she arrived there. The queen regent of France sent over a sum of money for her use, with other provision for her accommodation. The money she sent immediately in aid of her royal husband's necessities.

The Queen seems to have been more truly aware of the real condition of the King's affairs than he was himself, or than his secret advisers were. She had advised the bold attempt of marching upon London immediately after the surrender of Bristol, when those who had liberty to depart, having been ordered to go to London, had

spread widely the same panic under which they had surrendered a place far more tenable than the metropolis. There is every probability, therefore, that on the advance of this force the citizens of London, to save themselves from plunder and from slaughter, would have entered into terms of capitulation, even in spite of the Parliament, which at this period was torn by contending factions, and not imbued with that military spirit which afterwards rose up, when all the friends of peace were excluded.

The Queen had been before this time impeached as guilty of high treason, and now, finding herself in a state of health which required attention, and desirous of removing to Bath, she sent to the Earl of Essex for a safe-conduct. His reply intimated that he had no power to conduct her Majesty to any place but London. Whether this reply was intended as an insult or as a friendly warning must remain doubtful. The Queen wisely acted upon it without delay, and removed, though within a very short period of her infant's birth, into the faithful county of Cornwall, where their favourite motto, "One and all," was the rallying cry which throughout the county united the population in the royal cause. There the Queen remained in safety until a small Dutch fleet came over to escort her to the continent. When embarked and sailing from Falmouth a great danger awaited her: an English squadron pursued, and Henrietta enjoined the commander of the vessel in which she sailed, that if he should find no other chance for her escape he should blow up the powder magazine, so that she might thus end her life rather than perish on a scaffold.

Henrietta, however, landed safely near a poor village in Bretagne, and lodged the first night under a hovel, but on the next day the gentry of the neighbourhood gathered round her, and the daughter of Henry IV. had soon a gallant cavalcade as she proceeded to try the salutary effects of the waters of Bourbon. After a stay of a few months at that place she proceeded to fix her abode at Paris, and from thence sent to her husband all the supplies she could collect.

The tide of the royal success, which had flowed so steadily through the western counties in the preceding year, was now ebbing fast in the county of Dorset. On the 16th of June Weymouth surrendered at the summons of the Earl of Essex, and three days afterwards the same Earl became master of Dorchester. On the 10th of August Colonel Sydenham and Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, with other commanders of the Parliament forces, having drawn out about twelve hundred horse and foot from the garrisons of Lyme, Poole, and Weymouth, came before the town of Wareham and began to storm the outworks, whereupon a parley was desired, and the town agreed to a surrender on favourable conditions.

Corfe Castle was now almost the only place of strength between Exeter and London which still held out for the royal cause, and the constant valour of the lady who defended it is to be estimated, not so much by her active enterprise and resistance in the hours of excitement and attack, as by her long endurance through tedious weeks and months of anxiety, encompassed as she was by threats and dangers on every side. She had now a second gloomy winter to look forward to: all the neigh-

bouring towns had become hostile; and the only encouragement and aid she could expect, her husband being absent and her sons quite young, was that of a garrison to consist of soldiers brought from a distance, under the command of officers who were little, if at all, known to her.

Early in the winter the misfortune which she had least reason to anticipate befel her. On the 28th day of December, 1644, her husband, the Chief Justice, died at Oxford. His illness must have been a short one. Whether Lady Bankes had any notice of it is not known, few of her papers having escaped from the plunder of the castle. Sir John Bankes died in the house of his son-in-law, Sir Robert Jenkinson, his two eldest daughters attending him. Gloomy were the subjects of contemplation which surrounded him at the hour of his death. His wife and children were declared malignants, and all property forfeited, this being the price of his loyalty to the king; and the issue of the miserable contest in which his sense of duty had involved him, was now accomplished to this extent, that the King was deprived of every regal power, and there remained to the Parliament nothing but its name.

At York Sir John Bankes had been represented to the king as a faithful but too timid counsellor of the crown. He had now lived long enough to see every one of the fears which he had entertained realized almost to their fullest extent. He had not indeed the misfortune to live to see the great national hall of justice fitted up for the arraignment of the king, nor the rude scaffold erected in front of the banqueting-room of the palace,

nor the crime which was then accomplished; but in the week before his death there was passed in the House of Commons that decisive measure, the self-denying ordinance, which effectually destroyed the power not only of the moderate party but that of the Presbyterians also: for this ordinance providing that members of either House should be excluded from enjoying or executing any office or command, civil or military, the Presbyterian members thereby lost at once all their posts and credit in the army. The Earl of Essex, always obedient to the Parliament, shortly afterwards resigned his command; and Cromwell, pretending to obey it, cared not who might have the name of commander so long as it was one of the Independent faction, by whose aid he felt conscious that he should acquire supreme control, and rule over the fate of the distracted kingdom.

"After all my pains," says Rapin, "I have not been able to discover precisely the first rise of the Independent sect or faction. This much is certain, their principles were very proper to put the kingdom in a flame, as they did effectually. With regard to the state, they abhorred monarchy and approved only a republican government. As to religion, their principles were contrary to those of all the rest of the world. They not only were averse to episcopacy and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, but would not so much as endure ordinary ministers in the church; so with them every one prayed, preached, admonished, interpreted the holy scriptures without any other call than what he himself drew from his zeal and supposed gifts, without any other authority than the approbation of his auditors. I cannot exactly tell whether this sect

or faction was entirely formed at the beginning of the Parliament, or whether it sprung up during the sessions. But there is, I think, a distinction to be made upon this subject. I conjecture that the sect was already formed with respect to civil government, and arose from the principles of arbitrary power which James I. and Charles I. laboured to establish, but that with regard to religion it was formed during this Parliament."

The year 1645 was ushered in by the execution of the two Sir John Hothams, father and son, for treason to the State: they had been detected in holding communication with the queen. Thus perished two of the men of note who had first openly rebelled against the authority of the Crown. The royalists pretended to no feeling of regret at what they considered a stroke of retributive justice.

On the 3rd of January an ordinance passed for abolishing the use of the Book of Common Prayer.

On the 10th of January Archbishop Laud was beheaded, and buried in Allhallows, Barking; and in the month of March, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Denbigh, and the Earl of Manchester, surrendered their commissions, in compliance with the provisions of the Self-denying Ordinance. In the month of February the negotiations at Uxbridge, which commenced on the 30th of January, came to a close, having lasted for twenty days without any advantageous result to the king, unless the publication of the proceedings, conducted chiefly by Hyde, produced (as the king was led to expect it would) an improved impression in his favour. Whitelock, who principally maintained the

controversy on the other side, was greatly commended by the House for the success of his arguments and efforts.

There never was the slightest intention on the part of the Independents, who were now masters of the Parliament, that an accommodation should take effect. But the time consumed whilst public attention was thus in some degree occupied, operated very favourably for maturing their plans; whilst on the other side time ran on greatly to the king's disadvantage, from the limited nature of his supplies, and the exhausted means of his voluntary supporters.

On the 14th of June was fought the decisively fatal battle of Naseby. Nothing that personal gallantry could achieve was omitted by the King on this occasion. The fears for his safety entertained by some too anxious friends led to a movement which was mistaken for retreat, and the destruction of the royal army was accompanied with the loss of all their artillery and baggage, including even the King's cabinet, which contained his most private papers.

Some few places still held out, and Corfe Castle was one of these.

It was now in a state of blockade, liable to renewed attacks at any moment. Four days after the battle of Naseby, encouraged by the tidings of that success, Captain Butler, then Governor of Wareham, marched from thence with a party of horse, and, with these driving the garrison into the castle, a company of foot which followed entered the town bent on pillage, and succeeded in bringing away one hundred and sixty cattle and horses.

On the 15th of August Sherborne in Dorsetshire surrendered to the Parliamentary forces.

On the 14th of October Basing House was taken by storm, after a noble resistance during several sieges on the part of the Marquis of Winchester, who was now carried a prisoner to London.

The blockade of Exeter was completed on the 28th of October, and orders were now sent for more effective operations against Corfe Castle. Colonel Bingham, Governor of Poole, had two regiments, Pickering's and Rainsborough's, placed at his disposal for this purpose, and on the 16th of December, and again on the 22nd, further reinforcements were sent by General Fairfax.

No expedition more gallant had occurred during the whole course of the civil war than that which was undertaken on the 29th of January, 1646, by a young officer of the name of Cromwell. Hearing of the distressed condition of a widowed lady shut up with her daughters in a closely-besieged castle, he resolved to make an effort for their relief. Accompanied by a troop which partook of the gallantry of their commander, numbering a hundred and twenty men, he set out, probably from Oxford, and marching with a degree of rapidity which anticipated all intelligence of his design he passed through the quarters of Colonel Cooke undiscovered, and came to Wareham: the scarfs of Fairfax had replaced their own; the sentinels saluted the officer as he passed; and he rode with his troop into the town, and directly up to the governor's house. The governor, aware that no such troop was expected, took the alarm

and barricaded his lodgings, firing from thence upon his assailants.

They had not much time to bestow on this attack, therefore, in order to bring the contest to a conclusion, they set fire to a house in the vicinity, which stood near to the powder magazine; and the governor, finding it necessary to avoid this new danger, consented to yield himself a prisoner, and was carried, together with two committee-men mounted behind some of the triumphant troopers, to the foot of Corfe Castle.

Here a large force was drawn out to oppose their further progress; but the gallant bearing of this little troop, and the besieged shouting their welcome from the walls prepared to sally forth if a contest should commence, induced the besiegers to give way. The gallant band accomplished their purpose; and, whilst tendering their services to the lady, they presented also for her acceptance the prisoners they had so gallantly captured.

The object of this chivalrous action was probably an offer of escape to the ladies from the castle: it was not, however, accepted; and in their return these brave men, surrounded by superior forces, and not acquainted with the country, sustained a defeat from Colonel Cooke: Colonel Cromwell and some of his troopers, were taken prisoners, others of the troop escaped in various directions, and a portion of them returning found a refuge within the castle walls.

The course of events shifted rapidly now, and, though the lady of the castle was still as intrepid as at first, it was not so with all who were around her. The captive Governor of Wareham prevaile

on Colonel Lawrence, hitherto so trustworthy and still thought to be so, not only to connive at his escape, but to accompany him in his flight. And there was within the walls another traitor, whose conduct was still more base, and his treachery far more fatal in its consequences. Lieutenant-Colonel Pitman, an officer in the garrison, had served under the Earl of Inchequin in Ireland, and, being weary of the king's service, let the enemy know that if he might have a protection he would deliver the place to Parliament, which offer was accepted, transmitted to London, and a protection sent down. On this he proposed to Colonel Anketil, the Governor, that he would fetch one hundred men out of Somersetshire to reinforce the garrison, and would get leave of the enemy's commander, under pretence of procuring an exchange for his brother, then prisoner in the Parliament quarters, for one of the enemy's officers, who was prisoner in the castle. This being approved of, he formed a design with Colonel Bingham, who commanded the siege, that under this colour he should convey above one hundred men into the castle, and as soon as they were entered the besiegers should make an attack. On this, one hundred men were drawn out of Weymouth garrison, who marched to Lulworth Castle, where they were joined by thirty or forty more.

Pitman led them in the night to the post agreed upon for their entrance, where Colonel Anketil was ready to receive them: some of them were in disguise, and knew every part of the castle. When fifty were entered, the Governor, seeing more behind, ordered the port to be shut, saying there were as many as he could

dispose of. Pitman expostulated with him for using him so ill, by causing him to bring men so far, with the hazard of their lives, and expose them to the cold and the enemy. Those who entered possessed themselves of the king's and queen's towers, and the two platforms, expecting the time when the besiegers would make an assault, it being then two hours after midnight. The besieged, as soon as the fraud was discovered, fired and threw down great stones upon these intruders, but they maintained their post. There were in fact only six men of the garrison in the upper part of the castle, for that was considered impregnable. The remainder of the defending force was placed in the lower wards, which had been hitherto the posts of danger. The besieging forces, as soon as they saw their friends on the towers and platforms, began to advance; and it was then clear to the inmates of the castle that they were betrayed.

A parley was demanded, and the circumstance of a Parliamentary officer being there with others of that party prisoners in the castle, induced the besiegers to offer conditions which were accepted; but the truce was broken almost as soon as it was agreed upon; two of the besiegers, anxious for the spoil, came over the wall by means of a ladder, some of the garrison fired upon them, and the risk now became imminent of a general slaughter throughout the castle. Colonel Bingham, however, who was no hireling officer, but a descendant of a family long known and highly respected in the county, could not but admire the courage of the lady who was his foe, and he succeeded in preserving the lives of one hundred and forty persons then within the

castle; two of the garrison were killed, and one of the besiegers, in this final struggle. Thirty prisoners of the Parliamentary party being found in the castle were now set at liberty.

In Sprigg's Tables of Battles and Sieges, this last siege is said to have lasted forty-eight days, during which eleven men were slain, and five ordnance taken.

The day on which this catastrophe occurred is uncertain; no two of the writers living near the time agree in this respect: it occurred probably in the last week of the month of February.

Heath in his Chronicles says, "April 8th, 1646: Then was Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire taken without any offer of terms, by violence and policy mixed together; and to make those surrenders a pair royal, Exeter was added."

The account given by Dugdale is as follows:—

"The torrent of rebellion thus violently bearing down all before it, what garrisons remained were necessitated soon after also to submit. Barnstaple in Devonshire upon the 7th of April; Ruthin Castle in Flintshire then yielded to Colonel Mitton; Corfe Castle in Dorsetshire about the same time; the city of Exeter, St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, Dunster Castle, and Woodstock House near Oxford, then also submitting. All the west, therefore, being thus cleared except Pendennis Castle, there could be no less expected than a siege of Oxford."

The King now wrote to one of the few friends yet left to him, the Marquis of Ormond, informing him of his desperate condition and of the resolution which he had consequently taken of throwing himself into the protec-

tion of the Scotch army, which was then engaged with the siege of Newark.

The King had entertained most anxious doubts with regard to the course which it might be least dangerous for him to pursue; a romantic fancy had occurred to his mind, and it was his most favourite plan, to venture himself in disguise, and unexpectedly appear at London. This, perhaps, was the best course which remained for him, but, in conformity with his usual unfortunate habit, he surrendered his own opinion to the advice of others. The Parliament dreaded such a step on his part more than any other which he had the choice of taking, and, consequently, they published an ordinance to imprison the Sovereign should he be found within their limits.

The royal malignants were at this time very numerous in London, being more safe from molestation there than in other parts of the kingdom; and a great number of the citizens of London had now found reason to abandon their former principles.

On the 27th of April the King went out of Oxford, disguised, in the night-time, two persons only accompanying him: the one, Mr. John Asburnham, a groom of his bed-chamber; the other, Mr. Hudson, a divine, his guide.

On the 5th of May the King put himself in the power of the Scottish army, and with his sanction the city of Oxford surrendered on the 24th of June.

THE CASTLE IN 1660.

H. H. N. B. delt.

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CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE LAST SIEGE UNTIL THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY, AND THE RESULTS OF THAT EVENT AS AFFECTING THE STORY OF CORFE CASTLE.

THUS, after a resistance of nearly three years' duration, this brave lady was dispossessed of the fortress which she continued to defend so long as a chance remained for the preservation of the crown; and when thus suddenly sent forth with her children to search for a home, it was her comfort to remember how faithful had been the attachment of all her humble neighbours, when the treachery of hireling strangers had accomplished what threats and force had failed to effect.

The work of plunder throughout the castle was soon achieved. Here were found stores of victuals and supplies, including seventeen barrels of powder, with match, &c.; and there are not a few of the fair mansions in Dorsetshire which have been constructed in a large measure with the stone and timber carried away from this castle.

The halls, galleries, and other chambers throughout the building were nobly decorated with rich tapestry and carpeting: other articles of furniture also, suitable in taste and value, which had remained probably since the splendid days of Sir Christopher Hatton, were there in abundance, and all of these fell into the hands of the despoilers.

The county sequestrators and officers commanding at

the siege had been ordered by the Parliament to slight the castle, but the solidity of the walls defied in many parts even the force of gunpowder. Whole months were occupied in the endeavour, and heavy charges thrown upon the county-rate for effecting the slow progress of this destruction, and in spite of all these endeavours, the remains of the castle present at this day one of the most imposing masses of architectural structure that are to be seen throughout the kingdom. These ruins have now ivy mantles on their towers, and the grass grows in the vaults and dungeons, but the lapse of two centuries has had no more effect than the ravaging attempts of man, for destroying the substantial portions of the building. One large tower was displaced many years ago by the effects of a violent storm, and it rolled into the stream below. The weight of this mass is said to have shaken the ground to a degree which produced the effect of an earthquake throughout the neighbouring borough.

"The cause in which thy towers did fall
Had brought a blessing on them all
Did fortune follow worth,
Then when you rais'd, mid sap and siege,
The banners of your rightful liege
At your she-captain's call,
Who, miracle of womankind,
Lent mettle to the meanest hind
That mann'd her castle wall."

The lines here recited occur in a poem written on the subject of the death of Edward the Martyr, by one of Sir Walter Scott's intimate friends, William Stewart Rose.

The triumphant Puritans, who had no poetry in their souls nor pity in their hearts, took a very different view of the manning of these castle walls, and saw in the

heroic action of the lady a very just occasion for the forfeiture of her jointure.

The Dorsetshire Committee of Sequestration thus communicate to their superiors in London on this subject:—

"Right Hon^ble.—According to the instructions unto us given by ordinance of Parliament, wee make bold to address ourselves to your Lordships for your resolution in a case of difficulty arising before us concerning the Ladie Bankes.

"Her husband's estate was sequester'd by us during his lyfe tyme for his delinquency, but since his decease she hath petitioned us to enjoy the jointure settled on her before the delinquency of her husband; but wee, fynding her active in the defence of Corfe Castle against the Parlyam^t during her coverture, have not granted her desire, but conceive wee ought to continue the sequestration untill wee shall receive satisfaction from your Lordships whether her act during coverture includes her within the ordinance, or whether your Lordships bee not informed of any delinquency in her since her husband's decease, ffrom which tyme the greatest part of her residence hath been near London, as wee are informed.

"In the prosecution of this sequestration wee shall be wholly guided by your Lordships' advice, and subscribe ourselves

"Your hono^rs most humble and
"ffaythfull servants,
"Ri. Broderipp,
"John ffry, Jno° Whitway.

"Shaston, this 4th of June, 1646."

Thus the county plunderers referred to the superior board of plunderers sitting in London, the question touching the entire spoliation of the little which yet remained, for the bare maintenance of the malignant widow and delinquent children of this royalist family. But their Lordships in London were at that time too much occupied in the division of the spoil, to find time for an answer to inquiries which related only to the maintenance of those who had been plundered. A publication of the time presents in a very interesting point of view the application of the enormous sums extorted from the royalist party.

Milton, in his defence of the republican form of government, asserted "That a popular government was the most frugal, for the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary commonwealth." We shall learn from the particulars of the following list some items of the cost of a popular form of government. This publication was the Dod, or Parliamentary Companion, of the day. It was divided into centuries, that is to say, lists each containing a hundred names, intended to be continued until it should embrace the whole number of the House of Commons. Two of these centuries only are found amongst Lady Bankes' papers; these are original copies of the publication, and probably now very scarce. They were of course much valued by the suffering families, who could not but have had some curiosity to know what had become of their forfeited estates.

The full transcript of these lists would too much enlarge the present publication; a selection is therefore made from these two hundred names, of those best

known in history: the number that is affixed to each name in the list is here preserved.

"A LIST of the Names of the Members of the House of Commons, observing which are officers of the army, contrary to the Selfe-denying Ordinance, together with such sums of money, offices, and lands, as they have given to themselves for service done and to be done against the King and kingdome.

THE FIRST CENTURIE.

1. William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons, worth 2000*l.* per annum, besides rewards of courtesies; Master of the Rolls, worth 3000*l.* per annum, besides the sale of offices; Chamberlain of Chester in the Earl of Darbie's place; and, untill of late, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, worth 1200*l.* per an.; and one of the Commissioners of their Greate Seale, worth 1500*l.* per annum; and had 6000*l.* given him at one time out of Mr. George Minn's estate.

3. Edmond Prideaux, formerly a Commissioner for the Greate Seale, worth 1500*l.* per an.; now by ordinance practises within the Bar, as one of the King's Councell, worth 500*l.* per an.; and is Post Master for all inland letters, worth 100*l.* every Tuesday night, and it was thus got; the Lord Stanhop the Post Masters and carriers of England complained in Parliament against Mr. Witherings and others, touching the carrying of letters; whereupon the benefit of forraigne letters were given to the Earl of Warwick, with 5000*l.*, per an., and the inland letters to Mr. Prideaux.

4. Roger Hill, a barrister of the Temple, in no practise, nor of a considerable estate till this Parliament, hath now from the House the Bishop of Winchester's manor of Taunton Deane, being the best of England, and worth 12,000*l.* per an. when the estates for lives determine.

7. John Lisle, barrister of the Temple, Master of St. Cross, in Dr. Jenis his place, being a place for a divine, and worth 800*l.* per annum.

8. Oliver St. John, by ordinance both an Attorney and Sollicitor to the king; worth what he please to make it, and hath the passing of all pardons upon compositions, worth 40,000*l.*

9. Sir William Allison, alderman of York, Clarke of the Haniper, worth 1000*l.* per annum.

21. Sir Gilbert Gerrard, much in debt before the Parliament, Paymaster to the army, and had 3*d.* per pound allowed, besides gratuities, worth 60,000*l.*, and now Chancellor of the Dutchy, worth 1200*l.* per annum.

22. Gilbert Gerrard, his second sonne, Clarke of the Dutchy, and for whose benefit the Clarkeship of the Assize, in Norfolk, is granted to Mr. Edward Gerrard, his cosen, by the procurement of Sir Gilbert, and is worth 500*l.* per annum.

23. John Selden had given him 5000*l.*, which he refused to accept, keeps his conscience, and often dissents from the votes of the House.

27. Sir John Hipsley hath the keeping of three of the King's parkes: Marybone Parke, that was Mr. Carew's, Hampton Parke, and Bushy Parke, and given him 2000*l.* in money.

28. Sir Thomas Walsingham, the honour of Eltham, that was the Earle of Dorset's; the Middle Parke and house, which was Mr. White's; and hath cut down 4000 timber trees.

29. Benjamin Valentine, given him 500*l.*

30. Sir Henry Heyman, given him 500*l.*

31. Denzell Holles, given him 5000*l.*

32. Nath. Bacon, given him 3000*l.*

33. John Stephens, given him out of the Lord Astly's composition, 100*l.*

34. Henry Smith, made one of the Clarkes, worth 200*l.* per annum.

35. Robert Reynolds had 2000*l.* given him, besides Abington Hall and the lands, worth 400*l.* per annum; hath bought a good penniworth of Bishops' lands; hath 20,000*l.* beyond seas, he made appeare upon his marriage.

36. Sir John Clotworthy, Treasurer for Ireland, and by the army charged with defrauding of the state 4000*l.*, which may be one reason the king could never get an accompt of the moneys raised for the Irish, though he desired it.

48. Isaac Pennington, twice broke, once Lieutenant of the Tower, a year and a half Lord Mayor of London, before his time had 7000*l.* given him, and hath store of Bishops' lands.

49. Samuell Vassell, given him 1000*l.*

50. Oliver Cromwell, Lieutenant-General, hath 2500*l.* per an-

num given him out of the Marquess of Worcester's estate, for which 4000*l.* per annum is let out, at the rate of 2500*l.*

51. Sir William Brereton, Colonell-Generall for the Cheshire forces, hath Cashobery and other lands of the Lord Capel, worth 2000*l.* per annum, and the Archbishop's house and lands at Croiden, where he hath turned the chapel into a kitchen, a goodly reformation, and fits with his stomach as well as his religion.

52. Thomas Waite, Colonell, Governour of Burley, where he thrives so well as he is now buying 500*l.* per an., who before was not able to buy 5*l.* a-yeare.

53. Sir Olliver Luke, decayed in his estate, Colonell of Horse.

54. Sir Samuell Luke, his son,* Colonel and Scout Master for the counties of Bedford, etc.

55. Thomas Gell, Lieutenant-Colonell to Sir John Gell, made Recorder of Derby, in Master Allestrie's place.

58. Edward Harvey, late a poore silke-man, now Colonell, and has got the Bishop of London's house and manor of Fulham.

59. Edward Rossiter, Collonell and Generall of all the Lincolnshire forces, and Governour of Belvoir Castle.

60. Sir Michael Livesey, Collonell, Sequestrator, and Plunder-Master Generall for Kent.

61. Henry Ireton (son-in-law to Lieutenant-Generall Cromwell), Colonel and Commissary-General.

62. Richard Sallway, Colonel, formerly a grocer's man.

63. John Birch, formerly a carrier, now a Colonel.

64. Edward Massey, Generall for Gloucestershire, and Governour of Gloucester, had Sir John Winter his estate given him.

65. Thomas Rainsborow, a skipper of Linn, Colonel, Governour of Woodstock, and Vice-Admiral of England.

72. John Ven, Colonel, Governour of Windsor.

73. Algernon Sidney, Governour of Dover Castle.

74. Richard Ingolsby, Colonel, Governour of Oxford.

75. John Hutchinson, Colonel of Nottingham.

87. Sir Arthur Haslerig, Colonel and Governour of Newcastle, and hath the Bishop of Durham's house, parke, and manor of Aukland.

89. Sir Thomas Middleton, Major-Generall for Denbigh and five other counties.

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* Hudibras.

91. The Lord Grey of Grooby (son to the Earle of Stamford), Colonel, and hath given to him the Queen's manor-house, parke, and land at Holdenby, and there's a great fall of the woods.

93. Sir William Purseby, Colonel and Governour of Coventry, fought resolutely against the Crosse in the Market-place at Warwick, and against the antient monuments in the Earle's chappel, in Saint Marie's church there, for which he had 1500*l.* given him; but when he should have fought with the enemie hid himself in the barley-field, for which a waterman at Temple staires (that had been his souldier) refused to carrie him.

94. Sir Edward Hungerford, Colonell, famous for plundering Warder Castle, hath the lands of the Countesse Dowager of Rutland, worth 1500*l.* per annum, and she is allowed but 500*l.*

100. Michael Oldsworth, no Colonel, but Governour of Pembroke and Montgomery, etc., hath a share with his lord out of Sir Henry Compton's office, worth 3000*l.* per annum, and is Keeper of Windsor Parke.

"Besides the offices, commands, and gratuities, every member of the House of Commons, being in all 516, are by their own order allowed 4 pound per week a-man.

"By the Ordinance for sequestring delinquents (1 April, 1643) it was declared that their estates should go for maintenance of the public affaires, and several Ordinances designed Bishops' lands for to pay 200,000*l.* publique debt; yet by this and the following centuries thou shalt see how both delinquents' estates and Bishops' lands are by members of Parliament shared amongst themselves, whilst the 200,000*l.* is unpaid, the publique affaires supported by unsupportable taxes, and that Dutch divill, excise, that insensibly devoures the poore, and will impoverish the rich.

"These are they that, with Hannaniah, breake the wooden yoke from our neckes (28 Jeremiah) and put

on one of iron; free us from a little ship-money, paid thrice in an age, and impose as much at once for a monthly tax; quit us of the monopolies of tobacco, and set up excise on bread and beer. The first easeth the wanton rich man, and the latter grindeth the needy and poor; yet these are thy gods, O London! these are the idol calves the people have set up and doe worship! these be the Molock to whom ye sacrifice sonnes and servants, by troopes, regiments, and armies, to maintain their soveraignty, and rebellion, and profit.

"Reader, I would have presented thee at once with the entire list of all the names, offices, and rewards of Parliament men, but I could not steale so much time from my weekly imployment, and am therefore necessitated to divide them into centuries; the first thou hast, and shalt the other foure, whereof the next beginneth with Cornelius Holland and Sir H. Vane. Farewell.—M. El."

It will appear from the notice which is appended to the second centurie that the publication of this had been much delayed, and the publisher in some danger from offence taken at his revelations. He professes to have had access to the journal-books and books of the Committees of the House of Commons. A brother of the Clerk of the House of Commons held at this time a commission in the king's army, which circumstance may perhaps afford a clue for discovering the mode by which these particulars were made public—the name of the Clerk of the House was Elsing. The second centurie proceeds thus:—

"Reader, I intended before this time to have given

thee this centurye as promised, and also a catalogue of such of the aldermen, common council men, and militia men of London as receive pay and profit by the continuance of the Excise impositions, that the world might know the reason of such votes and actions as promote the war, retard the king's return, obstruct our peace and happiness; but besides my weekly employment (which thou knowest), I have been necessitated (danger approaching) to remove my quarters, to my great trouble and hindrance; yet that thou mayest see I intended what I promised, accept this motly century; not that I will defraud thee of any one man or citizen if (as formerly) I may be connived at in the perusal of the journal bookes, and bookes of the Committees.—M. El."

This second century contains the names of sixty members of Parliament and forty citizens.

"1. Cornelius Holland: his father died in the Fleete for debt, and left him a poore boy in Court, waiting on Sir Henry Vane, then Controller of the Princes house; hee is still Sir H. Vane's zanie, but now a Co-commissioner with his master for the revenue of the King, Queene, and Prince: hee hath, with the helpe of his master, made himselfe farmer of the King's feeding-grounds at Creslow, in Buckinghamshire (worth 1800*l.* or 2000*l.* per an.), at the rent of 200*l.* per an., which he discounts: hee is possessor of Somerset House, where hee and his family lives: hee is Keeper of Richmond House, for his countrey retreate: he is Commissary for the garrisons at Whitehall and the Mews: hee hath an office in the Mint: hee hath ten children, and lately gave 5000*l.* with a daughter, after which rate the state must find 50,000*l.* for future portions.

2. Sir Henry Vane, senior, hath the Bishop of Durham's mannor, parke, and demeasnes of Evenwood; had given him 5000*l.*; is Chairman for the King's, Queene's, and Prince's revenue, the epitomy whereof is Lord Treasurer; his man Cozens is Clarke to the Committee, and gets 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* per an. by it.

3. Sir Henry Vane, junior, sonne to the elder, hath totally outed Sir William Russell, and is sole Treasurer to the Navy, a place worth at least 6000*l.* per annum in time of warre, especially when the Lord Treasurer is his friend, more when he is his father.

4. Sir Thomas Trenchard had given him 1200*l.* thus: hee married his daughter to a malignant, gave security for payment of 1200*l.* portion, beside Parliamentary courtesies; got his sonne-in-law sequestred; discovers the debt and hath it given him for his fidelity to the State—a very Parliamentary way to pay portions.

5. John Trenchard, brother to Sir Thomas, but a better father-in-lawe; hee is Governour of Wareham; hee married two of his daughters to Master Bingham and Master Sidenham; hee procured them to bee made Colonells of horse and foote, and Governors of severall garrisons; gets them to bee chosen Members of the House of Commons, and so makes them free of his own trade by their father's copy.

6. William Bingham, Coll. of horse and foote, Governor of Poole; had given him 1000*l.*

7. John Sydenham, Coll. of horse and foote, Governor of Weymouth and Melcom-Regis, and Commander-in-Chiefe of Dorsetshire; had given him 1000*l.*

8. John Browne married Sir Thomas Trenchard's sister, is a prime Committee man for the county, seized a 1000*l.* worth of the stock and goods of Farmer Wades, in Portland; the Committee quitted Wades of malignancy, but could not his goods, being in the hands of a member; so they are malignants still, and secured in Mr. Browne's hands.

9. Richard Rose hath the house and furniture of Master Bagley, the King's glazier, which hee got thus: hee and Master John Trenchard went to severall houses about the Strand to hyre lodgings for malignants, gave good rates, but would have the best furniture, and they, being Members of the House, would secure them—Master Bagley's was one; Master Rose caused it to be sequestred, and got it to himselfe, for which he and Master Trenchard fell out; but Bagley (though an honest man) got not his goods again, which crosses the proverb.

11. John Glynn, made Recorder of London and Clarke of the Pells, in Sir Edward Warder's place, worth 1000*l.* per annum:

hee hath made his father-in-law, Master Squib, Clarencieux Herauld, in Sir William Reave's place, worth 800*l.* per an., and hath made his creature and kinsman, Falconbridge, Controuler of the Excise, worth 500*l.* per an.; and also Receiver-Generall of the King, Queene, and Prince's revenue, worth 2000*l.* per an.: Mr. Glynn confer'd on his cosen, Lawrence Swetman, the Wine-office, worth 300*l.* per an., and made him Receiver of the First Fruits, worth 200*l.* per an.; but Mr. Swetman dying, Mr. Glynn got both places for his brother-in-law, that they might not go out of the tribe.

12. John Bell, apothecary to the body politique, hath as little given him as hee deserves in honest times, but to preserve the priviledge of the House is protected for what he can get; hee is a trustee for the poore of Westminster; received of Mr. Antrobus and others money for the poore, was sued for an accompt, said he could not answere without breach of priviledge of Parliament, and that he durst not; by which meanes Parliament men are the surest keepers of a trust.

13. Sir Walter Erle, Colonel of horse, and Lieutenant of the Ordnance, in Sir John Heydon's place, worth 1000*l.* per annum in time of peace, but in time of warre worthe 5000*l.* per annum.

14. Thomas Erle, sonne to Sir Walter, Captaine of a troope of horse, seldom attends the House, but followes his businesse in the countrey, where he is a great Committee man, punisheth his and his father's enemies, and rewards himselfe and his friends.

17. John Rowles, marchant, hath given to him 1500*l.* out of Sir John Worsenham's estate.

18. Sir Thomas Jarvis hath Mr. Webb's place in Richmond Little Parke.

20. Sir John Danvers, Colonel; after the death of his brother the Earle of Danby he proved him to have been a malignant, and by Parliamentary proceeding overthrew his brother's will, outed his sister Gargrave and Sir Peter Osborne of the state, worth 30,000*l.*, and hath it.

23. Sir Robert Harlow, Master of the Mint, in the place of Sir Ralph Freeman and Sir Thomas Alesbury; before the Parliament was much indebted, very poor, and could not pay; now he is rich and will not pay.

29. Henry Herbert, given him 3000*l.* and the plunder of Ragland Castle.

33. Philip Lord Lisle, General for Ireland, had an allowance of 10*l.* per diem, as my Lord of Essex had, besides pay for his regiment.

48. Richard Shuttleworth, Colonel, and hath very many of the recusants' lands in Lancashire, himself being the Chief Commissioner of Sequestrations.

51. Anthony Nicoll, Mr. Pym's nephew, by him is made Paymaster of Inland Revenue, by which in a short time he put himself into a Parliamentary equipage of coach, horses, and attendants.

60. Serjeant Wilde, "Justiciarius itinerans,"—Anglice, journeyman judge; had, after the hanging of Capt^n^ Burlye, 1000*l.* out of the privy purse of Darby House; and it is affirmed he had 1000*l.* more upon the acquital of Major Rolfe; so it is all one to him whether he hangs or he hangs not.

"A List of such Aldermen and Common Council men as have great profits by the continuance of the War, Excise, Taxes, and proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament.

1. John Warner, Lord Mayor, one of the Treasurers at War; hath 3 pence in the pound for what he receives in, and as much by ordinance for what he pays out: he is also Treasurer for receipt of all monies that were due on the ordinance of the 3rd of August, 1643. He hath purchased at easy rates the Archbishop of Yorke's best castle and manour of Caiwood.

2. Sir Thomas Wollaston, alderman; at first he was one of the Treasurers for plate, &c., Treasurer at War, Treasurer for loan money; he is Paymaster of the Mint, a trustee for sale of Bishops' lands, and hath bought the Bishop of London's lands at Highgate.

3. William Gibbs, alderman; was a member of the Guildhall plate and bodkins, by which he got 7 or 8000*l.*; he was one of the Treasurers for 200,000*l.* to pay the Scots, which was done in ear-marked half-crowns, called Gibists. He is a trustee for Bishops' lands, and Treasurer for rents and money raised by them; and for what he receives and what he pays hath 1*d.* per pound allowed by ordinance.

6. Isaac Pennington, alderman, a member of the House of Commons; while Lord Mayor he got money by passes out of town,

more by turning men out of their places for pretended malignancy, and putting others into them: he was Lieutenant of the Tower of London; he was trusted by Sir John Pennington with 6000*l.*, which he discovered, beg'd, and had it. He hath bought store of Bishops' lands.

7. Francis Packe, alderman, Commissioner for Customs, Treasurer at War; hath 3*d.* per pound of all money paid in or out; hath bought the Bishop of Lincoln's manor and house at Bugden.

23. Stephen Eastwick, a trustee for sale of Bishops' lands, formerly a Commissioner for the Customs, one of the new militia, and hath gotten a great estate since this Parliament.

"That thou maist know, reader, the benefit of military officers, I have thought fit to set down their several payes according to the establishment of the army of my Lord of Essex, viz.:—a Colonel of foot, 1*l.* 10*s.* the day; a Lieut^nt^ Col., 15 shillings the day; a Serg^t^. Major, 9*s.* the day; a Capt^n^, 15*s.* the day; a Colonel of horse, 1*l.* 10*s.* the day, and for six horses 1*l.* 1*s.* the day; a Capt^n^ of horse, 1*l.* 4*s.* the day, and for six horses 1*l.* 1*s.* the day. And thou must know that every Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major doth receive pay for a Captain, besides his pay as Field officer; besides, he receives pay for his whole company, which should be 120 men in a foot company, the pay whereof is 158*l.* 4*s.* the month, while his company is not perhaps 60 men; but the monthly entertainment of a troop of horse was 349*l.* 6*s.*, and advance money to raise regiments for every company 390*l.*, but more for a troop. This good pay, plunder, and free quarter, hath made many members of both houses take the employment, so that of 19 regiments, which were raised at first, 16 of them were commanded by members of both houses, viz.:—Earl

of Stamford, E. of Peterborough, Visct. Say and Seale, Visct. Mandevil, Lord Roberts, Lord Brooke, Lord Rochford, Lord St. John, Lord Wharton, Mr. D. Holles, Sir William Constable, Sir Henry Chomly, John Hampden, Arthur Goodwin, Thomas Grantham, Sir John Merrick, and divers of these besides had troops of horses; some members put their sons into command, but themselves took the pay; the Lord Say and Seale received for 13 months 9081*l.* 16*s.*, being the pay for the two troops of Mr. James Fiennis and Francis Fiennis, his sons; Mr. Pym for the same months received for his son Alexander's troop 4540*l.* 18*s.*, although his son never had 26 men in his troop.

"Thus thou seest why our loans, taxes, excise, and sequestrations are continued, how they and Bishops' lands are devoured; and yet neither the army nor Parliament men are satisfied."

Heath at the commencement of his 'History of the Civil War,' thus addresses the reader:—

"Having promised a short abstract of those vast sums of money the Long Parliament and their continued usurpation drawed out of the purses and blood, I may say, of the English people, I found in the progress of the account that it would exceed all arithmetic and belief; yet, because I would not totally disappoint posterity, I will give them some items, and let their leisure and computation reckon the sum, if they can find numbers for it, but I fear I shall not count half of them.

"The composition money for delinquents' estates was taken at two years' revenue of each estate, and this was

estimated as of the value of 800 waggon-loads of silver, 10,000*l.* being a waggon's loading.

"The fees of the two Speakers (and their clerks) of the Lords and Commons, for pardons of delinquents, were 35*l.* for every man whose estate was 100*l.* per annum.

"This was estimated at 200 waggon-loads of silver, each waggon carrying 10,000*l.*, all which is a mass of money, yet but a small sum to the money brought in otherwise.

"This in five years' time amounted (besides the customs and the king's revenues, and ecclesiastical profits sequestered in their hands) to near twenty millions. Added to these were the sale of the lands of king, queen, and prince, bishops, deans, and chapters, and of the nobility and gentry as delinquents."

Rapin informs us that from the year 1641 to 1647 there was levied by the Parliament in money and money-worth above forty millions.

Another writer, adverting to these calculations, says, "It is difficult to find the exact multiple of these sums in order to estimate their value in the currency of those days; but perhaps if every guinea were to be considered equal to five in the present times, though it might not show in its utmost extent what a Republic cost, it might yet be sufficient to convince the candid that good order is purchased at half the price which has been paid for anarchy."

Four pounds per week multiplied by five made a very comfortable allowance, it must be admitted, for the gentlemen of the House of Commons.

It is right to observe, that some time after the publication of the centuries, when the rapacious conduct of the republicans had excited a feeling of indignant disgust throughout the kingdom, an anonymous reply was published to the charges contained in those lists, which professes, however, to clear only some portion of the persons accused.

The nature of this publication may be learnt from the following extracts :—

"I am confident (says the writer) that what I shall informe unto the kingdom, being grounded on sufficient arguments and undeniable truths, will enforce a recantation in all noble spirits of their former sinister misapprehensions against all these Members of Parliament whom I shall nominate (all members of the House I neither can, or dare, or will excuse). In the name of God let the guilty suffer according to merit, and those who justly deserve it; let the justice of the House of Commons clear their walls of all such impure birds as have any way defiled the honour and esteem of the Parliament."

The first vindication relates to the allowance of 4*l.* per week to each member of the House, which, this writer asserts was received only during one year, and names 14 or 15 members; asserting also that a very large number in addition received none of this allowance. The truth is that public opinion, and above all, the indignant feelings of the army, forbade the continuance of the self-bestowed remuneration of these ravenous legislators.

The vindication seeks to clear by name nearly a score

of the Members who were named in the lists—whether with success or not it may be difficult in all cases to decide; but taking the case of Oliver Cromwell as an example, we may fairly doubt whether these vindications can be accepted as in any degree established.

The main charge of peculation brought against Oliver Cromwell in the first publication, is to the effect that, having got a charge of 2,500*l.* per annum on the Marquis of Worcester's estate awarded to him, he received an assignment of land worth 4000*l.* per annum, part of that estate, to defray this allowance.

The vindication states that his allowance from the Parliament was only 1500*l.* per annum, which correction, if it be true, renders the imputed charge of fraud so much the more serious, as it increases the discrepancy between the value of the land he got, and of the allowance intended to be conferred upon him.

It is very possible that when the shadows which preceded the coming events, reached the walls of St. Stephen's, many of the gratuities which had been awarded were very quietly laid aside, by those who sagaciously perceived that a stronger power was rising up to strip the despoilers, and expose them to the contempt and scorn which they so justly merited.

Hitherto the Presbyterians and Independents had acted as in concert, because it was equally advantageous to them that the king should be disabled from hurting both: when the king was reduced to his present condition, the two parties, who till then seemed united, began to be openly divided, each plainly perceiving that this was the critical time to make the advantages

gained in common upon the king turn to their own particular benefit. The Presbyterians were superior in the Parliament and in London; but the Independents were masters of the army, and by that grown very considerable.

The self-denying ordinance had been flagrantly violated, and so long as the fear of the king's ascendancy continued this was tolerated by the Presbyterians, who had a large majority in the Parliament; but now they resolved to remove these dangerous rivals from the seat of power. Their plan was to send a large portion of this army into Ireland, and to disband those who might decline that destination. But the Parliament had to deal with men who were too wise to give them time to prepare their measures. Oliver Cromwell was then at the head of the Independents, though he affected still to pass for a rigid Presbyterian. He was present at the sermons of that sect with a seemingly extraordinary devotion: he had found means to persuade General Fairfax that his sole aim was to promote the glory of God and the welfare of religion and the kingdom. He had in the army a great number of officers who acted by his direction, so that when he did all he seemed to be doing nothing. He pretended to approve of the measures designed by the Commons, namely, of forming an army for Ireland and disbanding the rest of the forces; and at the same time, by means of his emissaries, he raised up in the army a spirit of discontent and mutiny. There were in the army many officers who, before the wars, had been only tradesmen, and saw with regret an end to their authority, and that they

were to be mixed as before with a class which they had learnt to despise.

These men were ready for any undertaking which should preserve their continuance in a profession now so congenial to their inclinations.

Cromwell and the officers of his party found it an easy task to inspire the army with discontent against the two Houses, whose design was either to banish or to disband them.

"In the month of September, in the year 1646, died the Earl of Essex; he was taken away without being sensible of any sickness, in a time when he might have been able to have undone much of the mischief he had formerly wrought; to which he had great inclinations, and had indignation enough for the indignities himself had received from the ungrateful Parliament, and wonderful apprehension and detestation of the ruin he saw like to befall the king and the kingdom. And it is very probable, considering the present temper of the city at that time, and of the two houses, he might, if he had lived, have given some check to the rage and fury that then prevailed. But God would not suffer a man who, out of the pride and vanity of his nature, rather than the wickedness of his heart, had been made an instrument of so much mischief, to have any share in so glorious a work. Though his constitution and temper might very well incline him to the lethargy, the indisposition of which he died, yet it was loudly said by many of his friends, 'that he was poisoned.' Sure it is that Cromwell and his party were wonderfully exalted with his death, he being the only person whose credit and

interest they feared, without any esteem of his person." —*Clarendon's Hist.*

The army, the city, and the Parliament were now engaged in the fiercest animosities, the army preparing to crush the other two, whilst they, within their several jurisdictions, exercised an arbitrary sway, which filled the gaols of London with a motley crew of offenders, various in their pursuits and professions, differing also essentially from one another in their political opinions, though all were of the Puritan denomination. The Royalists, if they chose to keep quiet, were now little sought for in the way of molestation; and not a few of these, rejoicing at the dissensions of their foes, diverted themselves with humorous political lampoons, and other such compositions, of which the most popular at that time was a ballad called the 'Counter Scuffle.' The omission of a few passages only is requisite to render these verses suitable to the improved taste of the present day, and, as a faithful picture of the manners of the classes which now governed the state, it is inserted in the Appendix.

Cromwell viewed with satisfaction the discredit which their insatiable rapacity brought upon those whose continuance in power was no longer consistent with his personal security. A meeting of some of the members of the Commons had been held, at which it was proposed to arrest him, but the cautious timidity of Whitelock prevailed for the postponement of a plan which instant action alone could have crowned with success. It now became necessary that Cromwell should destroy the Parliament, but he must first make use of it as his base tool

for the destruction of the King. The few Peers who had submitted to the degradation of accompanying thus far the Commons in their tyrannical and plundering career, would now proceed no further; and the Clerk of the Parliament, a person of considerable eminence, being an intimate friend of Selden and of Whitelock, refused any further to record their proceedings, and on a plea of ill-health retired from the office which he had long occupied with honour.

When the murder of the King was accomplished, Cromwell found his expectations completely fulfilled; the House of Commons was throughout the kingdom now as much detested as before it had been despised.

Up to this day, there is no period of history the record of which is retained with greater satisfaction in the mind of every reader, than the expulsion of those members by Cromwell from the place which their presence so flagrantly disgraced.

Cromwell, turning to the Speaker, reminded him how long, under colour of service to the public, they had sate and acted there, and that instead thereof, themselves and their kindred (engrossing all places of great profit) had upon their own pride and luxury consumed the wealth of the land: which being said, he gave a stamp with his foot, and bad them for shame begone, and give place to honester men.

He ordered his guard immediately to turn them all out, Colonel Harrison pulling the Speaker out of his chair; and as they passed, Cromwell upbraided them all with selling the Cavaliers' estates by bundles, and said they had kept no faith with them.

It was on the 20th of April 1653 that the Long Parliament met with this ignominious and well-merited expulsion; and in the month of December following the great majority of the English nation viewed with a high degree of satisfaction the restoration of the monarchical form of Government, though under another name and with tyrannical authority, the republican Milton consenting to accept a portion of the trappings of the most arbitrary despotism that ever had governed these realms.

The royalists had reason to feel glad of this change. Cromwell admired their courageous efforts and devoted sacrifices in the royal cause. It was not their party which made him uneasy on his throne, for he had the means of knowing—through a traitor, who had been selected by Sir Edward Hyde as a confidential spy for King Charles—everything which passed in their counsels. It was his object to draw them to him if he could; and what he knew of the particulars of the young King's habits and dispositions, gave him reason to conclude that he should find in him no very formidable antagonist.

The mother of the Duke of Monmouth, who called herself the Queen, was at one time Cromwell's prisoner, but he had no wish to separate her from her Royal consort, being well aware that her presence added an essential element of discord and intrigue to the troubled counsels of the monarch, whose ruling passion was the love of ease.

Charles II.'s court was at this time occupied by quarrels the most indecent amongst his chief advisers, who were

contending for the nominal high places in the state, and Sir Edward Hyde at length bore away the prize, so long coveted, of Lord High Chancellor of England, though at the price, it was said, of the life of Herbert his predecessor, whose heart was broken when the imaginary seals were virtually taken from his hand.

The Great Seal of England was found at Oxford when that city was captured in June, 1646. It was publicly broken by order of the Parliament, and a new Seal made, which was entrusted to the charge of Commissioners, Whitelock being one of the number.

With Cromwell's accession to power the respect for equity and justice was in some measure restored, and Cromwell's judicial appointments were in general above all exception. The widowed heroine of the castle was no longer persecuted for her bravery; the attachment which bound Cromwell with warm affection to his daughters gave him a charitable disposition towards all who were of their sex. Large compositions being paid for herself and her children, Lady Bankes was now permitted to receive the annual amount of her jointure, and although claims upon her were from time to time brought forward in the legal tribunals, of which records remain, she was not in any serious degree molested during the remainder of the period of the commonwealth. She lived long enough to see the restoration of the monarchy, but died within a twelvemonth from the accomplishment of that desired event.

The record of her death is thus inscribed on a monument of white marble in the chancel on the south side of the ancient church at Rislipp :—

TO THE MEMORY OF
THE LADY MARY BANKES ONELY
DAUGHTER OF RALPH HAWTREY OF RISLIPP
IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDX. ESQUIR
THE WIFE AND WIDOW OF THE HON^{BLE} S^{R}
JOHN BANKES KNIGHT LATE LORD CHEIFE
JUSTICE OF HIS LATE MAJESTY'S COURT OF
COMMON PLEAS, AND OF THE PRIVY COUNCELL
TO HIS LATE MAJESTY KING CHARLES THE FIRST
OF BLESSED MEMORY
WHO HAVING HAD THE HONOR TO HAVE BORNE WITH
A CONSTANCY AND COURAGE ABOVE HER SEX A
NOBLE PROPORCON OF THE LATE CALAMITIES, AND
THE HAPPINESS TO HAVE OUTLIVED THEM SO FAR
AS TO HAVE SEENE THE RESTITUTION OF THE
GOVERNMENT WITH GREAT PEACE OF MIND
LAID DOWN HER MOST DESIRED LIFE, THE 11TH DAY
OF APRIL 1661.

SIR RALPH BANKES HER SONNE AND HEIRE HATH
DEDICATED THIS.

Lady Bankes, brave to the last, with true Christian piety and courage faced death as she had confronted danger, careful to communicate neither pain nor apprehension to any one she loved. She gave to her relations so little expectation of her death, that her eldest son, then absent from her, being in Dorsetshire, was married on the morning of the day on which she died.

Sir Ralph Bankes was united to the descendant and heiress of the old Western family of the Brunes of Athelhampton and Plumber in Dorset. He had received the honour of knighthood from the new king. This, and some addition to the crest upon his coat of arms, were the recognitions of the loyal services of his house.

He was also permitted to recover the estates forfeited by his delinquent father if he could; and as it happened that they had not been specifically granted to any one of the five hundred and sixteen patriots who formed the Parliament of 1646, he had now the law on his side; whilst many persons similarly situated in point of suffering, were not equally fortunate in obtaining redress.

In August 1660 was passed the celebrated Act for the settlement and quieting of the kingdom called the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, which the wits of that day interpreted by saying, that it was an act of indemnity for King Charles's enemies, and of oblivion for his friends.

The electors of Corfe Castle had chosen Ralph Bankes for their representative in the Parliament of Richard Cromwell, elected in 1658, and in 1660 Sir Ralph was re-elected by the same constituents for the Parliament of Charles II.

Taking his place now in the county to which he belonged as a person of some consideration, he had to provide himself with a habitation. The castle which he had lost, no private fortune, even though it had not been nursed by the tender care of parliamentary sequestrators, could have restored. It may be observed, also, that the feudal dignity and seclusion of the baronial age were by no means appreciated amongst the cavaliers of Charles II.'s day. "You little brute," said the Duke of Buckingham to a spaniel which ran between his legs, "I wish you was married, and lived in the country." This was considered as the worst of all possible maledictions in that gay monarch's court. Sir Ralph, however, had no desire to shine as a courtier, wisely preferring

the honourable station to which he was born of a country gentleman. Fixing on a portion of his property more frequented than that in which Corfe Castle stood, he erected a mansion within the grounds which had formerly contained a residence of the Dukes of Somerset. There never was a period more favourable for the exercise of taste, as well in building as in decoration, than this. The encouragement of Charles I. had attracted to his court the chief artists of Europe, and when they came, they learnt how liberal was the disposition of the English aristocracy towards the cultivation of art and science. Some of these artists had continued in England during the troubles, and at the Restoration numbers came over to partake of that profuse expenditure which immediately prevailed throughout the kingdom, as well amongst those whom the spoils of plundering warfare had enriched, as amongst others who, having been for a long time penniless, were now in possession of large estates, which they hoped to find inexhaustible in their produce.

The house built by Sir Ralph Bankes was from a design of Inigo Jones, and the interior was decorated with portraits previously obtained from the pencil of Vandyke, to which were now added many others executed by the great master in that line of painting, Sir Peter Lely.

Sir Ralph rented a place some few miles distant called Chettle whilst this building was in progress; and desirous of procuring solid materials for its construction, also wishing to make provision of suitable articles of furniture to supply the apartments it should contain, he took

active steps for tracing out the present possessors of the plunder of Corfe Castle.

His first applications were addressed to persons who then were, or who had been resident in the borough of Corfe Castle at the time of the siege. Of the replies he received some are here inserted. The first is addressed,—

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL AND HIS ASSURED FRIEND SIR RALPH BANKES, KNIGHT, AT HIS HOUSE AT CHETTLE, THESE PRESENT.

"Honored Sir,—I am sorry I cannot more fully gratify you in your desires, but in what I can is undermentioned, and what I cannot at present shall as comes to my knowledge, Sir. Although I was not in the castle at the taking (which I suppose I should have been if your friends then governed it), yet I was so far from any hand in the taking it as any, and I was constrained to keep my own house for mine own preservation and mine, that I durst not look abroad to see the actions of others, wherefore, all that I can inform you is after others, vizt.,—that some household goods and not a little was brought into the house of one Richard Smith of Corfe Castle, who had then three sons under the Parliament, but I suppose that is much divided; what remains is in the hands of Nathaniel Smith at the Ship, and of Henry Smith a shopkeeper; and I understand that Mr. Anthony Fursman has some; I know not of any else in the island. But I am informed by one Matthew Mosse, a tailor in Corfe, that one Captain Richard Gould at Holme had much of it; and that he had seen a room furnished and hung round with the castle goods, besides many stones

and much timber he had; also some of the greatest timber was carried to Sutton, to Mr. Dennis Bond's farm, where it remains yet unused. And not a little timber and stone was used about the George Inn. And the leads were most of them sold unto Gaylen, the plumber, of Poole, as I have been informed. What Colonel Bingham had of your's I know not; but I am sure his soldiers had all my shop goods, and I did write to Mr. Culliford whilst in London to advise me whether I should not have any satisfaction. And he advised me in the negative, that the Act would quit all men of all such actions, but I wish I could find it now; but I must rest satisfied; and Sir, with my due respects tendered, do remaine,

"Your Worship's servant,

"EDWARD HARVEY.

"Corfe Castle, 5th October, 1660."

The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion required that Mr. Edward Harvey should forget his shop goods. Expressions contained in this letter raise a surmise to the effect that the garrison put into her castle was not wished for by that brave and prudent lady, who might very possibly have maintained this fortress throughout the remainder of the struggle if she had been permitted to defend herself in her own fashion.

Another of the replies received was from an old servant of the family who had lived in the castle: he describes the several articles which he mentions according to the position which they had occupied in that mansion. This list is intitled, "A perticular of the goods viewd by me att Collonel Bingham's house."

Of this list a few items are here given.

"One piece of ordynary hangings for y^e^ Gallery; one piece to hang behind the clossett & door in my La: chamber; one piece over the door going into the Hall; & one neere to the doore in the Studdy next to y^e^ Gallery.

"One piece of ordinary hangings for the door of the Gallery.

"Two pieces of ffine Tapestry for y^e^ Gallery, one piece to hang behind my La: Bed.

"One piece for the lower end of the Great Chamber; one piece over the chimney in the great Chamber.

"Two large sattin wrought window cushions; one cushion of crimson velvett for a window.

"A suite of Green leather Gilted hangings; one suite of blew silke damaske hangings.

"A silke quilt Carpett for y^e^ table in the withdrawing-room.

"A Rich ebony Cabbinett w^th^ gilded fixtures; two Mantles in red silk damaske, & a white silke damaske, with 2 silver bindings."

Then follow very numerous items of beds, carpets, and other descriptions of household furniture.

In another house in the county the same inquirer sees large store of articles from the Castle, amongst others,—

"A Trunk wherein is a crimson satten petticoat, with stomacher and sleeves lined with 6 silver laces, a sweet bag, a piece of silk stuff, and divers other small things."

Another person employed to make inquiry in London, writes to this effect:—

"Stone, the broker in Barbican, had at his house, a suite of forest worke tapestry hangings; a green cloth bed, embroyder'd with tent stitch slips of flowers, and lined w^th^ Isabella coloured sarsanett. Also he said he had sold to a fine lord a tapestry sute of hangings of y^e^ history of Astrea & Celadon, w^ch^ I think he said he had two or 300*l.* for."

The fine lord above mentioned appears from the result of another inquirer's report to have been the Earl of Manchester. This report from Barbican proceeds thus:—

"He had also a Trunke with a black wrought work'd bed, and y^e^ other furniture, besides cushions and other things.

"All these things I saw; and y^e^ bed my Master treated with him to buy, and he askt as dear for it as he paid.

"Also he said he had sold a hangings for a roome, of rich watched damask, all which he said he bought of Colonel Bingham, and I think he said that he bought to the value of a 1000*l.* worth of goods of him."

The next memorandum is a paper indorsed in the handwriting of Lady Bankes, "about things lost in the Castle," intituled,—"The goods lost in the castle out of the Wardrop:—

"7 or 8 suits of fine tapestry hangings.

"A suit of watchet damask hangings.

"A suit of green plush hangings.

"A suit of pentado hangings, and curtains, & quilt.

"A furniture for a bed, & carpet, & quilt of green cloth, embroyder'd with work.

"A white dimity bed & canopy, with the whole furniture wrought withe black.

"4 Turkey carpets with a white ground, 2 of them very long.

"8 other Turkey & Persia carpets, some long, some less sizes.

"A wrought quilt, white and yellow.

"A suit of scarlet & gilt leather hangings.

"Several trunkes of linnen, diaper, & damask, and holland sheets, marked, the diaper & damask with MB, the other linnen I^{B}_{M}.

"Several trunkes with flaxen sheets and table linen, marked.

"A very large ebony cabinet.

"A very large trunke, inlay'd all over with mother of pearle.

"A trunke, with all sorts of fine child-bed linen, as sheets and pilow-cases & mantles.

"One of crimson plushe, with 2 fair silver and gold laces.

"One crimson damask mantle laced, and divers others.

"Some crimson damask curtains, and long cushions for a couch.

"6 very fine and long down beds, with bolsters, & pilowes, & blanckets.

"Several trunkes of wearing clothes and wearing linnen.

"Many bookes and papers, at y^e^ value of 1300*l.*, all new and good, with many other things not mention'd.

"The goods which were about the Castle:—

"A large suit of crimson velvet chairs, stooles, couch embroydered, long cushions of crimson velvet.

"Turkey carpets for the tables.

"2 furnitures for beds, one purple, the other crimson, with counter-points, carpets, stooles, chairs.

"Stript hangings for 4 or 5 chambers.

"One suit, 8 pieces of superfine dorcas, 12 foot deep, the story of Astrea and Celadon.

"A second suit of tapestry 12 foot deep.

"A third suit, 8 pieces, tapestry, the story of Constantine.

"A fourth, fifth, and sixth suit, 12 foot deep.

"In a trunk, with letter q,—

"One suit of hangings, of rich watchet damask, lined with blew cloth, 9 pieces, and one carpet.

"In a trunk marked with letter O,—

"A furniture for a bed of french green cloth embroyder'd; 6 curtains and valences, with changeable taffity teaster head-cloth and fringe, all of the same taffity; 2 carpets of cloth embroyder'd, an India quilt of white wrought with yellow to the bed.

"6 large down & five feather beds with bolsters.

"4 pairs of down pilowes and quilts.

"5 pair of fine long blanckets.

"Fine linen particularly enumerated, in boxes numbered and lettered from A to the letter O."

The memorandum then continues,—

"All these things before mention'd in particular, with many others not so well remembered, were layed up together in one roome in packes and trunkes, and brought away first to the Isle of Wight and then to London, and most of the bed-hangings and other things sold to brokers, where some of them have been seen. There were besides lost in the Castle all that which was

in use about the Castle: a suit of crimson velvet in the parlour; above 20 good feather beds and bolsters, pilows, blanckets, rugs, and furniture to them all; new and good hangings in several chambers; household linnen, new and good; all other necessaries of pewter, brasse, iron, tables, stooles, and all else belonging to a house; with many armes in the magazine and hall of S^r Jo: Bankes owne, all there, to the value of above 400*l.*, pilledg'd by the souldiers."

Other lists are in existence. The items already given may be sufficient to afford a correct impression of the manner in which mansions were furnished in the days of James and of Charles I., also of the rich harvest of spoil which accrued to the county sequestrators when they plundered by Act of Parliament. The Act of 1643 not only justified but enjoined Colonel Bingham and others thus to deal with the property of malignants; and the first Act having been found too lenient, another passed of a yet more stringent nature in 1644. An ordinance of the Parliament was also issued, by which it was provided that, if the persons named as sequestrators failed, or refused to act, their own estates should be seized and sequestered. Let it not be supposed, therefore, that this gallant colonel acted with any very unneighbourly feeling; he was justified in taking all he took by the Acts of the Long Parliament, and he was secured in keeping all he had got by the Act framed by the new Lord Chancellor and passed by the first parliament of Charles II.

Some discussion on the effects of this admirable act, as it has been styled by some, will be found in the in-

teresting correspondence, here inserted, between the young Royalist on the one hand, and the veteran chief of the Puritan party on the other.

The first is indorsed,—"A coppie of y^e^ letter from Sir Ralph Bankes to S^r^ W^m^ Erle.

"Sir,—It may perhaps seem strange to you after such an intermission, that I should now demand of you that which belongs to me. I doubted not your own conscience and the justness of the thing would, before this, have invited you to make restitution or some recompense, which made me defer reminding you of it, because I was not willing to take from you the advantage of so good an action. But I incline to believe want of memory occasions this failure in you, and that it is rather the defect of your age than of your will. The timber and other materials for building you had from Corfe Castle (which you have since employed in your own new fabrick) you must needs acknowledge are mine, and what in law as well as justice ought to be restored to me. For the Act of Indemnity gives away no man's property, but every one may (without any violation of it) take his goods when he finds them, and though I never made it much my inquiry, I can, if you give me the occasion, bring those that will swear that one of the great pieces of timber (if not the greatest) in your house came from the Castle, besides stone and other materials you have made use of. I hope you will not put yourself or me to any further trouble in this business, which, if it should be brought upon the stage, will not anyways benefit your reputation. The Scripture which you profess (and we all ought) to make the rule of our actions cannot justify

you in such proceedings, nor can you bring any text from them which allows you to build with my timber. Good actions carry their own reward. If you did well to be instrumental in destroying the Castle, you should not have rewarded your good service out of the ruins of it. Many throughout England who made the like advantages of the times, and who thought that whilst they continued the illness of them would warrant their ill actions, have since this happy change shewed you good example, and have thrown from them that which, belonging to others, would have proved moth and a canker in their estates. The precedents are so public that you cannot be ignorant of them. I hope your conscience will be as just to you as theirs have been, and that you will be ruled by it; and, by making me a just satisfaction, you will oblige me to be,

"Sir,

"Your friend and servant,

"R. B.

"Chettle, y^e^ 12 August, 1661."

Indorsed,

SIR WALTER ERLE'S LETTER ABOUT THE MATERIALS WHICH HE HAD FROM CORFE CASTLE DURING THE REBELLION.

Addressed.

FOR THE MUCH HONORED SIR RALPH BANKES, THESE, AT CHETTLE.

"Sir,—I have received your letter touching that business, the mentioning whereof by you may (as you suppose) seem strange unto me, though if the truth be known, it will appear that it hath not been altogether a stranger to my thoughts,—it being my resolution long since, upon the least hint of opportunity to acquaint you

with my mind and purpose therein; and once as I sat by your side in Parliament, I was about to have asked you how far forth you thought me in equity obliged to that which you seem to require, and had something in readiness to present you withall upon occasion, and that merely in regard that having kept my hands free from things of that nature in general, it went against the hair with me to silence that particular as to yourself. I then lost the opportunity by reason of some business or other that intervened, and since I supposed that upon occasion of meeting here in the country, some occasion might be given rather by way of discourse than otherwise, to come to the point. And this is no feigned thing I can appeal unto Him who knows all men's hearts. But that I was any other way compellable to make satisfaction, I was and still am confident to the contrary, it being most clear that the Act of Indemnity doth reach it, as relating to, or by occasion of, the late unhappy war. Besides the alteration of the property from what it was formerly, when it was fixed to the freehold, and so likewise that (although the property had not been altered) no action of trover and conversion was brought within six years, and in divers other respects. But one thing (indeed) seems strange, which is, that I should (at that time when it was done) have a hand in the destroying of the Castle and meddling with the materials of it,—a thing which I utterly disavow, being able to make it appear that neither then nor in a year before, I had anything to do in the country, being absent; and when the spoil was made, and the materials were carried away, I never gave any direction by letter or otherwise

for bringing any part of it to my house, nor knew any such thing done more than the child unborn, until a good while after, coming down into the country, I found some part thereof among other things remaining of the ruins of mine own house, laid by for future use. And as for the things themselves, the quantity and value of them, certainly they are nothing near so considerable as I perceive you apprehend them to be—five or six load of timber and stone being in point of value no such great matter, admitting them to be such as you describe them to be. However, it is not that which I stand upon, nor you, perhaps, neither. I should have been glad to have had the opportunity of a more free overture proceeding from myself, but, seeing it falls out otherwise, I must take it as it is, and for the present return this answer, in hope that it may so far forth satisfy you that I shall need say no more until some occasion of meeting offer itself, that I may make it appear that nothing that is reasonable, whether in law or equity (for to me all is one), shall be denied you, and in the mean space, I shall entreat you to take no notice of those misinformations that I have before touched upon, that I may not sustain prejudice in the opinion of one whom I have great cause to honor and respect, your relations (these parts being lately increased, and so in respect of neighbourhood and common civility, as well as of that which is of more esteem, makes me profess myself to be,

"Your most humble servant,

"WALTER ERLE.

"Charborough, 11 August, 1661."

The next letter appears to be written in reply to a communication transmitted by direction of Sir Ralph Bankes to John Bingham, Esq., who was member for the county of Dorset in 1646, and again in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, 1658. This letter is addressed,—

"For My Noble Friend S^r^ Ralph Bankes, at Chettle.

"Nobel S^r^.—My being in phisicke made me not to send an answere to y^r^ servant's let^r^ last Saturday. I beseech you let it plead my excuse.

"S^r^, I have a large bed, a singel velvit red chair, and a sute of fine damaske; had not y^e^ horse plague swept away my horses, I would have sent these to you; besides y^t^ disease have carried away most plowes here abouts, by which plowes or horses were never in my days soe hard to be got as now. I beg that you'll please to comand one of y^r^ servants to come to Blandford next friday morning by 10 o'clock, there these things shall be ready for him at y^e^ Crowne.

"S^r^., I follow the direction and advice of our Lord Leiftenant, y^t^ is, to live retired and keepe at home; it was the best course I could steer as yet, by which I never goe abroad, y^t^ takes me off from waiting on y^r^ ladey and selfe.

"That yet a continued gale of happiness may ev^r^ blow on you here below the stars, and y^t^ you may yet enjoy heaven hereafter, is y^e^ real wish of, S^r^.,

"y^r^ very hearty servant,

"7 Octo^r^, 61. "Jo. Bingham.

"S^r^, I humbly entreat the tender of my humbel service to my ladey Bankes."

Another, having the same address, appears to have been written within a few days of the date of the former letter.

"Nobel Sr,—I have sent to Blandford to be delivered your servant one large bed, two blankets; ye bed for 12 years since was opened by a wench that lived with me at my then house at Byngham's Melcomb, when I was in the Isle of Guernsey, and feathers stolne out and divers other such tricks dun by her in my being out of the land—I take the boldness to hint this trick to you: likewise I have sent to Blandford a full sute (yt is as many as ever I had) of ould, fine damask table cubberd cloths and napkins, in particular 2 long tabel-cloths, a large cubberd cloth, 2 towels long, a red velvet chaire. There is of yr goods in others hands, I have not seen sum before these 4 yeares, but wil speak with them; ere longe they may give me a hint. There was a large bed offering by one of ye souldiers or officers to a widow in Poole, daughter to captn Ffox.

"Sr, had I more, as I promised yr selfe, I would have sent it. Sir, ye linnen was but once used by me, but whited once in 2 yeares.

"Yr humbel servant,

"JO. BYNGHAM.

"Sr, I beg ye tender of my humbel service to yr ladey."

One large bed, minus the feathers, and one red velvet chair, appear to constitute the amount of furniture and building materials recovered by Sir Ralph Bankes from the hands of the sequestrators, whom the law of the new reign had indemnified. Sir Walter Erle was quite justified in his construction of the statute; and Sir

Ralph ought to have considered himself very fortunate, inasmuch as these gentlemen had not made away with the estates themselves, when they levied and seized all the rents and profits.

Sir Ralph Bankes did not live to witness another revolution, or to see the final expulsion of the royal race, in whose cause his family had suffered so severely: he completed the mansion at Kingston Lacy, and dying when his son was under age, the new house was tenanted by the Duke of Ormond, who probably heard from Sir John Borelace, uncle to the minor, of the accommodation which this place could afford to his declining years.

He found here, painted by the hands of the finest artists, the portraits of his first royal master and of his queen, their children also, and of other persons eminent in that court. The Duke of Ormond may justly be considered as the most illustrious of the statesmen who, having adhered firmly to the fortunes of the First Charles, had passed with undiminished reputation through the scandals and troubles of the next reign. He died a few months only before the change which displaced the Stuart dynasty from the throne. The last hours of this truly great man are thus given by the historian of his life and actions:—

"His Grace had hired a very pleasant seat in Dorsetshire, belonging to Mr. Bankes of that county, and called Kingston Hall, where he hoped, by the benefit of that champaign country and good air, both to enjoy some recreation and recover a better state of health.

"He was lame, and could not use his legs when he left Badminton, in order to be carried thither; and

being there he continued much at the same rate till the end of February. The weather being very severe for a long time, he could not recover any use of his limbs till the month of May, and then he began, with help, to get out in the garden and take the air in his coach.

"On Wednesday, July 18, he went abroad in his coach half-a-dozen miles with the Lady Ossory, but returned ill; yet he seemed for the two next days somewhat better, and stirred a little about the house.

"On Saturday, July 21, he took delight to see the little Lord Thurles, now about two years old, play before him; yet frequently inquired about the hour of the day, and directed his chaplain (afterwards Bishop of Derry) to prepare the sacrament for him by ten o'clock the next morning, and named those that he desired to receive it with him.

"He continued sitting up till the afternoon prayers, which were at three o'clock, and answered distinctly as usual. He afterwards discoursed about indifferent things, yet was by fits uneasy, so that he desired Mr. Clerk to take care of some papers that lay in the window, and give them to Sir R. Southwell, for he would not come time enough to find him alive. He found himself fatigued, and was desirous about four to return to his bed for some refreshment: but Mr. Clerk taking notice to him that he declined much faster than himself apprehended, he thought it proper to receive the sacrament immediately, rather than defer it till the morning.

"He took it with most exemplary marks of piety and devotion, being assisted by the Earl of Ossory and his lady; nor was there a servant in the family absent on

this solemn occasion. The communion being over, he told the physician who attended him that though he found a great decay in him, yet he was not then much sensible of pain.

"This interval of ease he employed in talking to his servants, which he did for an hour together, saying that all he could do for them he had done in his will, that is, he had recommended them to his grandson, expressed his constant experience of their fidelity and affection, and pressed him to keep them all, and do them those services which it was not in his power to render them.

"Being a little spent with this discourse he dismissed his servants, and desired the Gentleman of the Chamber and his brother to lay him down on the bed.

"They first laid him on his back, but he desiring them to turn him on one side they attempted it, and in so doing he that was behind him on that occasion, observed his hand to fall behind his upper side, like a dead hand; and they found he had expired in that moment.

"He made no struggling, nor sent forth the least groan; but went out like a lamp, enjoying what he had ever prayed for, 'that he might not outlive his intellects.'"*

To the friends at whose instance these passages of history have been collected I might here say farewell, since they will require no description of the noble remains within sight of which they dwell, whose massive exterior and internal arrangements of chambers, vaults, and passages, have been known to them from their earliest youth. But the increased facility which the

* Carte's Life of James, the first Duke of Ormond.

railway affords adds largely to the number of strangers who visit the castle; and to these some local description will not be an unacceptable companion, in their ramble through the ruins.

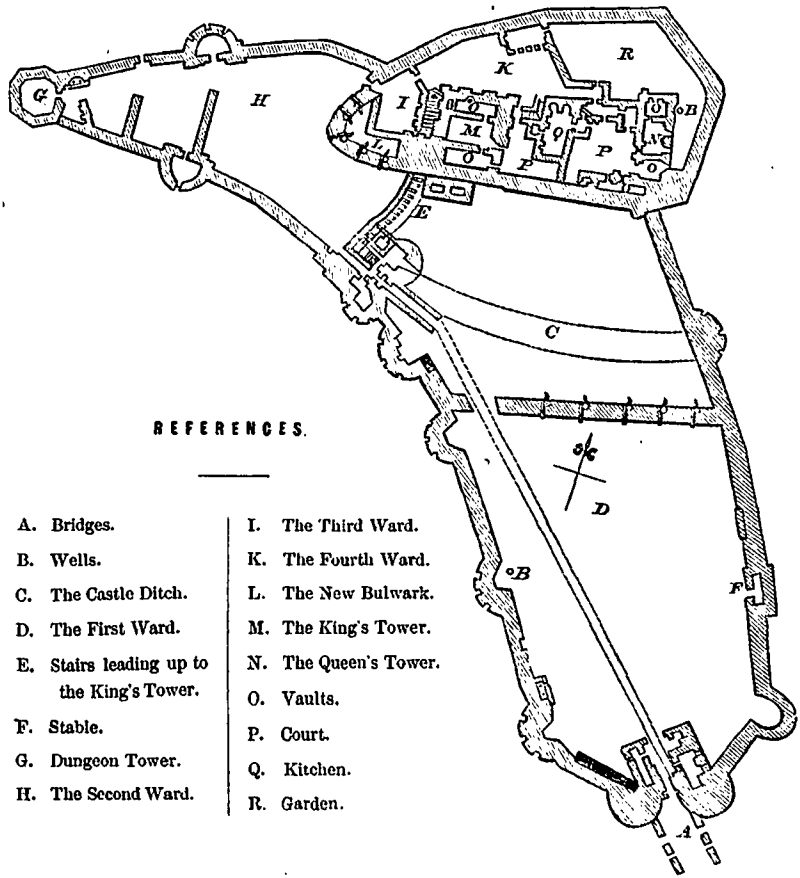
Entering the borough by the public road, and arriving at some steps which indicate the site of an ancient cross, the grand approach to the castle is discovered; the front gateway is flanked by two strong circular towers, pierced with long apertures or loop-holes, which enabled the besieged to discharge their weapons in safety. To reach this gateway a stone bridge must be traversed, consisting of four semicircular arches, the key-stone of the centre arch being twenty-four feet high, reckoning from the bottom of the broad moat which the bridge crosses; it is of the simplest and severest style of architecture: there is probably no bridge of greater antiquity in the West of England.

The last carriage which is known to have passed over this bridge was the carriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, in the month of October, 1814; and this was perhaps the first which had passed since the day when the widowed lady, the defender of these walls, was driven from them in 1646. At other times the bridge has always had a barrier across it, preventing the entry of wheeled carriages. An impression that danger may be incurred here, will very justly arise upon the survey of a causeway so elevated, narrow, and without parapets.

The writer of these pages had the honour of being present when her Royal Highness reached the castle: she had already quitted her carriage, but as he knew the walk through its walls was a long one, he requested

PLAN OF CORFE CASTLE

IN 1586.



REFERENCES.

A. Bridges.	I. The Third Ward.
B. Wells.	K. The Fourth Ward.
C. The Castle Ditch.	L. The New Bulwark.
D. The First Ward.	M. The King's Tower.
E. Stairs leading up to the King's Tower.	N. The Queen's Tower.
F. Stable.	O. Vaults.
G. Dungeon Tower.	P. Court.
H. The Second Ward.	Q. Kitchen.
	R. Garden.

SCALE OF FEET.

20 40 60 80 100 200 *feet*

permission to direct that the carriage should follow, and this being graciously acceded to, the barrier was thrown down, and the spirited horses brought the carriage safely over the bridge, and as far up the hill as the steep nature of its acclivity would permit. There was no portion of this extensive ruin that the princess omitted to visit, so that the carriage was a welcome accommodation for her return; and as it passed the narrow bridge at the gateway, it was impossible for those who encompassed the carriage, ready to act in case of any alarm, to avoid perceiving the infinite diversion of the princess at the rueful countenances of the ladies, her attendants, who, to do them justice, had opposed to the very utmost of their power the introduction of the carriage within the walls of the castle.

The princess was still diverted with this incident, when she sat down to partake of the humble, but ample profusion of a country inn, the Ship, which still holds a well-earned pre-eminence in the borough.

The 29th of October is the day on which the fair annually takes place at Corfe Castle – a circumstance not known to her Royal Highness or to her attendants when that day was chosen for the excursion; this proved to be a new source of amusement for the princess, as from the window of the little inn she saw the lively traffic of the gay throng, taking part herself in the festival by extensive purchases of fairings from the little booths which stood thickly arranged between the moat of the castle and the inn.

The perfection of English climate is found in a fine October day; such was this which welcomed the royal

visit, and of those yet alive who were present on this occasion, there is not one who will forget the lasting charm imparted by the gracious return of kind acknowledgment, for the outpoured acclamations of loyal hearts and the tenders of humble affection.

The course taken by the princess when these ruins were so explored, is that which all who desire to see them in detail must pursue. The first bridge being passed, the entrance gateway with its supporters, the massive towers which uphold it on either side, first arrest the attention. The grooves on the sides of the gateway on which the ponderous portcullis played, are still in a high state of preservation. The arch is severed in the centre by the explosion of gunpowder; yet, owing to the strength of the workmanship and materials, the disjointed sections retain their primitive form almost unbroken. According to a drawing made by Ralph Tresswell, Sir Christopher Hatton's steward, in the year 1586, the two front towers were capped, as well as the intervening space between them, thus presenting at a distance the appearance of three towers placed triangularly. The object was to prevent access by means of scaling-ladders, should an enemy obtain possession of the bridge. We now enter into the

First Ward—forming an irregular triangle. It contains eight towers, at unequal distances, of amazing strength and durability. Turning to the right, on looking to the summits of the first two towers, the remains of a spiral stone staircase are visible in each. The first apartment was undoubtedly occupied by the warder. Tradition assigns the second and third to the mechanics

and artificers belonging to the fortress. The second tower presents in its interior an arch, effected in the same way as the Egyptians were accustomed (from their ignorance of the principles of the true arch) to form it, viz. squared stones projecting from corresponding abutments or piers, and approximating to each other, like inverted steps, till one broad stone at the top tied and consolidated the whole.

On the fourth tower fronting the east, armorial bearings, which have been said to be those of the Earl of Pembroke (Protector in the reign of Henry III.), are engraved on an ancient, triangular stone shield.

Returning again to the great entrance, and turning to the west, we proceed to examine the other towers, which present stupendous masses of ruin under almost unrivalled circumstances. Thrown from their bases by the force of gunpowder, they exhibit angles of inclination of almost every degree. The second from the gateway is the most striking, and the spectacle from its top will amply repay the adventurer as he gazes on the streamlet below. Near the wall there is in this part a closed well, and before it the marks of a rampart, designed to secure it from injury. This outward ward was used as a place of exercise for the troops; and the raised terrace, about one hundred feet from the gate, was, in Elizabeth's time, furnished with pieces of cannon. Passing another bridge of one arch, which crosses a second deep moat, we enter the

Second Ward.—The gateway here has the provision for a portcullis of vast size, similar to that which is found in the grand entrance. The western tower, with part of

the gateway, is severed from the wall, having to appearance been undermined, in order to demolish it; but before this could be completed the props gave way, and the huge mass slid nearly half its height into the ditch. It is surprising that so vast a piece, several tons weight, should settle in so very perpendicular an attitude. Just within the gateway on the right hand was a flight of stairs, which led up to the Great or King's Tower, being constructed on the exterior summit of a very high wall. Tradition states, and apparently with truth, that just at the entrance of this second ward, under the archway, Edward the Martyr received his death blow from the hand of the assassin.

The ascent to the great staircase commenced at this spot, protected by its proximity to the porter's apartments, the remains of which are well worthy of attention. Pursuing from this archway a gentle ascent, the north-western angle opens on our view. The tower standing at the farthest western extremity was octangular, and must have been an imposing feature in the fortress. The only remaining part of it is a spiral stone staircase, which originally led to the summit of the octagon. The configuration of this tower is unique; all the other towers which flanked the outer walls were circular. It is called the dungeon tower, and is said to have been the place of confinement for captives of inferior rank and criminals. Near this tower a stone is visible, projecting from the wall, with a deep notch cut in it, which is said to have been the place of execution. The tower adjoining the octagon was called the prison-chapel, where the condemned prisoners received from the priest,

whose place of residence was in a neighbouring tower, the last comforts of spiritual consolation.

The wall in this west angle demands the particular attention of the architectural antiquarian. It presents us with a specimen of herring-bone work, bricks or stones laid on the edges in form like ears of wheat, after the Roman manner, which indicates a very high degree of antiquity.

In this wall are two low doorways, supposed to have been sallyports. This ward contains five towers, including those which stand at the entrance.

The next is the Chapel Ward, smaller in dimensions than either of the others, containing a residence for the officiating priest, with a chapel dedicated to St. Mary.

The pointed doorway and broken shafts of clustered columns, indicate the early and purest era of the Gothic style. The floor of the chapel was elevated, so as to admit of large vaults beneath, in which it is probable that burials took place.

In the exterior wall, which is on the east side of this ward, was a sallyport, and through this the traitors were admitted who betrayed the castle. Near to this spot, at the foot of the chapel, was a garden, in which a well of great depth had been constructed for the supply of the inmates of this higher portion of the castle. The tradition of the neighbourhood at this day affirms, that the whole of the family plate, with some store of money, was thrown into this well just before the final capture of the castle. Hutchins, the county historian, points out the improbability of this story, because this well is situated

in close proximity to the sallyport through which the traitors entered; and the remark is a just one.

Yet it is by no means improbable that Lady Bankes did in fact deposit her treasure here, but at an earlier period of the siege. It is clear that she had no plate at the time when the castle was plundered, for there is no vestige of complaint made of any loss of that description, either by herself or by her son.

If plate was thrown by Lady Bankes, with other valuables, into the well, that precaution was probably taken at the time when she found herself constrained to receive strangers for her garrison, whose presence she mistrusted, and with sufficient reason, nearly as much as the foes who threatened her from without.

To search for articles at the bottom of this well would prove no easy task, the depth being very great, and the materials with which it is filled up are as compact and solid as the rock on which the castle stands.

Adjoining to the chapel, and communicating with the kitchen and other principal offices, stood the Queen's Tower; some of the vaults on which it was supported are still here, but havoc and ruin have prevailed in this more than in other portions of the building. This seems to have been the place of residence of the lord or lady of the castle, having many advantages in point of situation, guarded from every wind, and screened by the lofty King's tower or keep from the piercing rays of the declining sun.

The apartments which stood here were the most richly decorated; and the notion of concealed treasure no doubt induced the victors to uproot the very foundations of the

greater part of these walls with the most persevering industry.

Ramblers amongst the ruins may here choose their place of accommodation for repose, secure of shade and shelter; and with this little volume in their hands they may think of the royal persons who have lived here, sometimes in majesty and sometimes in thraldom; of princes and peers who have here flourished and have faded; lastly, of a private family forced into historic notice by the miserable distractions of the time in which they lived, who, when driven from these walls, have left here a record of constancy, enduring to the last in behalf of a cause which they had espoused, and believed to be the right one.

The day-dreams of a summer's noon will here find suitable accompaniments for their indulgence: and before we complete the survey of the summit, a passing thought may be bestowed on the mode of life and daily employments of the last inmates of the castle.

Wardrobes, trunks, boxes, all filled with household linen; stores of embroidered counterpoints, bed-furniture, and christening-robes, will sufficiently answer a question which may very naturally occur to the minds of young ladies of the present time, with regard to the possibility of getting through the heavy hours of many a wintry day in a castle such as this when in a state of siege; no novels, no newspapers, no friendly visitor permitted to drop in; he must come in armour who shall come at all, and is liable to pay for his courtesy by imprisonment, with ransom or death.

The happy resources of female industry caused, how-

ever, time to pass with feathered footsteps in my lady's chamber, where, amidst her daughters, she plied the ready needle with little cessation throughout the year.

"And in a chamber close beside
Her faithful maidens did abide,
In petticoats of stammel red,
And milk white kerchiefs on their head;
Their smock sleeves like to winter's snow
That on the western mountains flow,
And each sleeve with a silken band
Was fairly tied at the hand;
Which pretty maids did never lin,
But in that place all day did spin." &c. &c. *

In addition to inmates such as these, there was in an adjacent part a well-filled nursery in this beleaguered fortress; and some may imagine that the good old nurse had a sorry time of it, presiding over a set of juvenile heroes and heroines, who had thrice defeated the rebels by their own prowess, and were in daily expectation of a renewal of the like animating diversion.

But there were giant nurses in those days; nurses of a genus which has passed away, or, if a specimen is ever found, it is only in a fossil state. It has never gone so well with English families since the time when the race of the good old household nurse became extinct: she was always in a fuss but never in a passion; invaded no one's territories, but was in her own dominion supreme. The laws of the good old nurse were like those of the Druids, unwritten, and therefore the more respected; and as for her tales and legends, they were taught by recital, like those of Homer, only hers were in prose.

These required no print to fix them on the young

* Ben Jonson.

memory; so accurately were they retained, that when she recounted one of them for the thousand and first time, if by chance she omitted a single phrase, the whole juvenile audience rose up like one boy to demand the restoration of the well-remembered word.

A juvenile rambler reposing amongst the ruins, may perhaps be amused by the recital of a nursery tale which was told here two hundred years ago. Of the many legends of the good old nurse which were blown up with the castle, this one has come down to posterity: the story is a true one, as of course all the good old nurse's stories were, and is here given nearly in her own words.

THE NURSE'S LEGEND OF A CHRISTMAS PIE.

"There lived a worthy old ladie of madam's own familie, which nurse, when she was herself a little girl, did oft hear tell of, and once upon a time did see; and this good ladie was happy in the birth of many daughters, which she did tend with all motherly care.

"Well and warily they were instructed in all the maidenly duties and observances of that good and pious time; in the use of the needle there were none that did outshine them. The Greek and Latin tongues they did also freely discourse in with reasonable and religious men; also on the virginals and clavycorde they did so play it was awful to hear them. But it was in the higher knowledges, and that of cookery in particular, where Madam Hawtrey did most insist on perfecting the minds of these ladies, her daughters, whom she did love so wisely and so well. 'Want not waste not,' the good saying of the gracious queen, was then figured in

pictured letters over the range of every kitchen; but this the good ladie did pertinently inquire, how should the young maiden know what was want or what waste, if she knew not the cookcraft (for so she did intitle it) of the kitchen?

"The welfare of every young woman she did affirm to rest on this particular. Beauty fadeth like a flower; music can little delight the husband when he comes to be hard of hearing; and she did of her certain knowledge find that it was the best cook did secure the best husband, and did ever retain fixedly to the end of life his true and virtuous affection.

"Now, to preserve the early lessons so taught to her daughters, from the day when they could rest each her little chin upon the dresser, she did have them instructed fully in this art, and then she did require of them all a promise strictly to be observed, so long as her life should be enduring, that on every Christmas-day in every year these her daughters should themselves prepare and set forth upon her board a number of minced pies, equalling exactly in the sum of them, the number of the years accomplished since the day of her so happy marriage; and so it was, that when she had been married fifty and nine years complete, there did appear upon her board the like number of minced pies, whereof the fame did spread marvellously abroad, to the great honour and contentment of the excellent and virtuous old ladie, and of all that were the offsets of her family.

"But in the year next following that which was last spoken of, the good ladie being then of the age of fourscore, her daughters being now most of them in course

married, and all of them of womanly estate, they did conspire and agree, not considering the ease to themselves, as they had now many children of their own to aid them, but for the yet greater satisfaction and surprised pleasure as they did esteem it of this their beloved parent, they did, with great labour and curiosity of art, contrive one great and noble pie; a born baby might rest therein; and this they filled with those many and rare refections suitable to the great work they had in hand. Then, to complete the whole, did they upraise on the crown of the crust the two letters LX, large and noble, clearly denoting thereby the threescore returns of that fertile marriage day from whence themselves were so happily sprung.

"The knowledge of this rare structure is withheld from the good old dame; lame of foot she can no longer descend to her kitchen, though to the dinner-hall she never omitteth to repair, with appetite unyielding to the weight of years.

"Well, the hall is now decked with Christmas garnishings, the pie is upon the board; the ladie entereth and is seated. But the beholding of this pie hath an operation on this virtuous ladie far differing from that which these her beloved offspring did in their pride of heart intend.

"Alas! she cannot touch a morsel: a novelty so strange she cannot stomach, nor can she digest the ancient promise broken. Mayhap she did apprehend whether an ape should leap forth, or a dwarf, or a Denmark owl, for such conceits and pleasantries had been known at the banquets of persons of high condition and

well doing in the state. Be this as it may, she is carried to her chamber in a swoon; her daughters, like demented beings, hurry to and fro; nothing is left unendeavoured on their parts; the private cabinet, with marvellous store of pharmacie, is unclosed; scores of healthful medicaments, marked with the good ladie's rare approval, are brought forth; they give to her of them all, yet did the good old ladie die, and was laid strait and quiet in her coffin (nurse heard the passing bell) before the minced pie was cold."

The various morals deduced by the good old nurse from this her affecting tale, it is not necessary at present to enlarge upon.

The evening now draws on; and when the sun is sinking in the west we should mount the highest portion of the keep; and before this is attained we pass a small platform, projecting from the southern face of the hill, which was perhaps formed during the last sieges, opposite to the church, for the purpose of overtopping the enemy's chief battery, which was erected on that consecrated roof. From hence are seen the various dwellings forming the little town, which stands far beneath; and in the view to the right and left, nearly the whole extent of the Isle of Purbeck is embraced.

The passage by which we pass through the keep or King's tower, is a narrow and lofty one: a few well armed men might have withstood for a lengthened period a host of assailants, the walls on each side being of enormous thickness. At the end of this corridor we come out upon the platform built by Sir Christopher Hatton; and from hence we can view all the most interesting

portions of the castle. At this spot the great staircase terminated its ascent, which commenced far below. At the entrance of the second ward, to the eastward of this platform, was the great hall, and the strong chambers in which prisoners of state were confined; in this part the walls are twelve feet in thickness; they form a square of sixty feet by seventy, and about eighty feet in height. It was upon the summit of this platform the battery was erected in 1586, defying the Armada, which procured from the valiant Elizabeth an extension to the castle of the rights and privileges of the Cinque Ports, for this fortress so defended was pronounced impregnable.

It requires no professional acquaintance with the improved principles and science of artillery, to know that if this castle were now in all its pristine strength, no gallantry could defend it against the assault of well-mounted batteries placed on the adjacent hills; and a few reflections on the subject of these essential alterations in the powers of defence may not be misplaced at the present moment.

In the year 1852 an excited feeling pervaded a large portion of this kingdom, not dissimilar to that which prevailed in England two years previous to the arrival of the Spanish Armada.

The inhabitants of England in Elizabeth's time had not the slightest apprehension on the subject of the success of an invasion; but they believed that the attempt would be made, and in this respect they were not mistaken.

He who now sits upon the throne of France may never wish to rival the wild enterprises of his imperial uncle. But how long a Napoleon of peace shall be permitted to

occupy the imperial throne of France, or whether a Northern cloud may once more arise to threaten our shores, are questions to which time alone can offer a reply. The defences of stone walls can no longer be relied on as they were in the days of Alfred and of Elizabeth; and wooden walls, which from the days of the Tudors to the glorious close of the last continental war, were the impregnable bulwarks of our sea-girt isle, have now new elements of destruction to compete with.

Some letters, which are here inserted, were written at the period of the last national anxiety on the subject of invasion. The writer of these was the Earl of Dorchester, then Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Dorset. This nobleman was honoured with the intimate confidence of King George III., and was in habits of private correspondence with the members of his Cabinet. These letters are addressed to Henry Bankes, Esq., then member for Corfe Castle.

"Private. Milton Abbey, Blandford,
"October 12th, 1803.

"My dear Bankes,—The spring-tides take place next Saturday, and the information to Government is so precise that the Isle of Wight is the enemy's object, that it is not improbable they may avail themselves of this ensuing spring-tide; if they do not, their attempt must be postponed another month. Under these circumstances I would not fail of giving you this notice in confidence, that you will keep it to yourself, and only so far prepare Mrs. Bankes and your family as to be able to remove them upon the first intelligence of the enemy's being off the coast. I have to beg of you that you will

give directions for an assemblage of fagots, furze and other fuel, also of straw to be stacked and piled on the summit of Badbury Rings, so as the whole may take fire instantly, and the fire be maintained for two hours. The general direction, if you will take the trouble of ordering the execution, is that this beacon may be fired whenever the beacon off St. Catharine's (Christ Church) is fired to the eastward, or whenever the beacons on Lytchet Heath or Woodbury Hill are fired to the westward, but not from the demonstration of any coast signal.

"I am, my dear Bankes, yours most sincerely,

"DORCHESTER."

"Milton Abbey, Blandford,
"October 18th, 1803.

"My dear Bankes,—Many thanks for your care of the beacon on Badbury, and generally for the contents of your letter on the 16th instant. As to the first, I have thought a watch and guard necessary for the two I have erected—one above Chizlebourne Common, in my grounds, and the other upon Bullbarrow; but the guard, to say the truth, is more against the wanton than against any other description of persons. The expense of them, no great object indeed, will be defrayed by Government; and I am authorised to send in my charges to the Commissary General. As to the other part of your letter, it is very handsome, and I shall be glad to avail myself of your services. At the present it only occurs to me that, if upon the alarm of an enemy's being off the coast, you should be disposed to transport yourself to

this house, I should receive you with great satisfaction; and something might occur to one of us in which you might find employment.

"I am ever, my dear Bankes, most sincerely yours,

"DORCHESTER."

The following extracts from 'Thiers' History of the Consulate and Empire' will inform us that the British Government were not deceived in regard to the information which was conveyed to them from France, as well in 1803 as also in the two following years:—

"Napoleon had resolved very speedily to execute his grand enterprise. He wished to cross the straits in the month of July or August, 1804; and if the incredulous, who have questioned the reality of this project, could read his private correspondence with the Ministers of Marine, the infinite number of his orders, and the secret communication of his hopes to the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, they would no longer entertain any doubt as to the reality of that extraordinary resolution."*

"Napoleon received at Boulogne the melancholy intelligence of the death of Latouche Tréville, Commander of the Toulon fleet, at the moment when prepared to embark, August, 1804."

With reference to the next year, the same publication proceeds to inform us that,—

"Napoleon arrived at Boulogne on the 3rd of August, 1805: on the very morrow of his arrival he had all his infantry mustered on the shore at low-water mark. These occupied above three leagues, and presented the

* Thiers' History of the Consulate and Empire, vol. v. p. 93.

enormous mass of one hundred thousand infantry, drawn up in a single line. In the evening he wrote these significant words to Admiral Decrès: 'The English know not what awaits them. If we have the power of crossing for but twelve hours, England is no more.'" *

It is at the time when no panic exists, that calm reflections on antecedent periods of history may be formed with the best effect; and when we view fortresses once impregnable, now, from the progress of science, untenable, for a single hour, it well becomes those who are intrusted with the destinies of an empire, to consider whether the provisions for national defence have kept pace with the new exigencies which arise.

Wareham and the Isle of Purbeck are possibly more secure from hostile invaders than they were in the time of Alfred, or in the days of Elizabeth. Wareham is no longer a large maritime port (though one important branch of its trade still flourishes); and the Isle of Purbeck contains no rich stores of such a nature as would invite the sudden inroads of plundering marauders.

But the merchant princes of London and of Liverpool will do well to remember that the Dane-gelt was paid by men not so wealthy, but quite as proud and as valorous as themselves, who found it a vain endeavour to guard an island rich and without defences, which contained much to invite the despoiler, and a handful only of armed and disciplined men prepared to repel him from their shores.

* Thiers' History of the Consulate and Empire, vol. v. p. 224.

CONCLUSION.

Having thus traversed the ruins with the stranger, and with you, my friends, collected various matters, as well from public as from private records, which relate to their history; I place in your hands this little volume as a grateful recognition of the kindly intercourse which has long existed between your families and mine, in days of trouble and of danger, as well as in these of happier destiny, which Providence permits us to enjoy. To us the story of Corfe Castle, as often as it is repeated, will serve to renew the pleasing recollection of friendships inherited, which lapse of time has not obliterated, and change of circumstance has never broken.

APPENDIX.

NOTE, page 4.

"THE British artificers became some of the best workmen, insomuch that from the time of Agricola (who first taught them how to build regular houses) to that of Constantius, they had been so constantly employed and were become so expert that, when Constantius rebuilt the city of Autun in Gaul, in the year 296, he was chiefly furnished for the purpose with workmen from Britain, who were esteemed the best artificers of all.

"Their agriculture also was not only worthy of commendation, but became useful in the highest degree, and even necessary to the empire. Julian employed no fewer than eight hundred vessels to transport the corn from thence. Money also was coined here in large quantities."—*King's Munimenta Antiqua*, vol. i.

NOTE, page 5.

"The old manner of pledging each other amongst the Anglo-Saxons when they drank was thus:—the person who was going to drink asked any one of the company that sat next him, whether he would pledge him; on which, he answering that he would, held up his knife or sword to guard him whilst he drank (for while a man is drinking he necessarily is in an unguarded posture, exposed to the treacherous stroke of some hidden or secret enemy). This custom, as it is said, first took rise from the death of young king Edward (called the Martyr), son to Edgar, who was, by the contrivance of Elfrida his step-mother, traitorously stabbed in the back as he was drinking."—*William of Malmesbury.*

NOTE, page 9.

"Such great drinkers were the Danes (who were in England in the time of Edgar), and so much did their bad example prevail with the English, that the king, by the advice of Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury, put down many alehouses, suffering only one to be in a village or small town; and he also further ordained that, pins or nails should be fastened into the drinking cups and horns at stated distances, and whosoever should drink beyond those marks at one draught should be obnoxious to a severe punishment."—*William of Malmesbury.*

NOTE, page 28.

"That the Earl of Kent was in reality innocent was soon afterwards acknowledged by Mortimer himself, when that nobleman in his turn was led to the scaffold.

"The nation suspected that the Earl had been sacrificed to the policy of the queen and her paramour. To silence the voice of the public, the government issued a proclamation, by which the sheriffs were ordered to arrest and imprison every man who should assert that the Earl of Kent had suffered for any other cause than treason; or that he had been condemned without the judgment of his peers; or that Edward of Carnarvon, the king's father, was still alive.

"Mortimer having been surprised by means of a secret entrance to the castle of Nottingham, where he thought himself, with the queen, secure from all attack, was arraigned 26th November, 1330, and executed at Tyburn on the 29th of the same month. Sir Simon Bereford, Sir John Maltravers, John Deverel, and Boeges de Bayonne were condemned to death as accomplices of Mortimer; the first in all his treasons, the other three in the deception and consequent execution of the late Earl of Kent."—*Lingard*, vol. iii.

NOTE, page 28.

"The circumstances attending the death of Edward II. are now accepted as related by Hume, Rapin, and other modern historians, but the ancient chroniclers from whose accounts they derive their information are by no means very clear in regard to the particulars of this tragedy. A history is printed in the first volume of the Harleian Miscellany, entitled '*The History of the most unfortunate Prince King Edward the Second; containing several rare passages of those times not found in other historians, found among papers of, and supposed to be writ by, the Right Honourable Henry Viscount Falkland, sometime Lord Deputy of Ireland.*' In this history the murder of Edward II. is stated to have been effected at the Castle of Corfe; of which castle it is further affirmed that this royal victim had a peculiar dread, derived from ancient predictions, which were, perhaps, founded on traditions relating to the fate of his martyred namesake. Throughout the long reign of Edward III. the particulars relating to the death of his father were variously related, but the painful subject was in fact little touched upon at a time when scenes and stories of triumphant excitement were engrossing the public attention throughout the kingdom, and more especially in the good city of London.

The city of London was in the year 1334 so flourishing, that not only the Lord Mayor, but most of the Aldermen in their turns, had the generosity and ability to invite and entertain all the great kings and potentates who were then in England, singly and together, as occasion served. Particularly Sir Henry Picard, who some years before had been Lord Mayor of London, a vintner, one day made a splendid feast at his house over against St. Martin's Church, at which entertainment five kings were present; the kings of England, Scotland, France, Denmark, and Cyprus, the Duke of Bavaria, the chief hostages of France, and king Edward's sons (excepting the Black Prince, then in Aquitaine), and many of the chief nobility of England.

And after dinner he kept his hall for all comers that were willing to play at dice and hazard; his lady Margaret at the same time keeping her chamber for the entertainment of the princesses and ladies.

Note, page 30.

The fatal overthrow at Tewksbury was occasioned by the rash impatience of this Duke of Somerset. The Earl of Pembroke had left the queen on landing, quickly to return with a large addition of force to be collected in South Wales. He had required and received an assurance from Somerset that no battle should be fought until after the arrival of this much-desired reinforcement. The opposite party, however, succeeded in provoking the Duke to quit his lines, and the open combat ensued which resulted in the total discomfiture of the adherents of the Red Rose. The Prince of Wales was murdered after his capture in a manner which brought indelible disgrace on the chiefs of the victorious party.

Note, page 32.

Corfe Castle was granted by Henry VIII. to one of his illegitimate sons, but there does not appear to be any record of his having lived there.

Note, page 39.

"The site of Hatton's house was that of the orchard and garden of Ely House, and there he died in 1598. By his interest with the queen he extorted from the Bishop, Dr. Richard Cox, the ground on which his house was built. The good bishop for a long time resisted the insolent sacrilege, but Her Majesty interposed and made him surrender by the well-known letter, which commenced, 'Proud Prelate! you know what you was before I made you what you are now;' and

ends with the threat of unfrocking him if he dares to resist her demand.

"On the 20th of March, 1576, the humbled prelate granted to Sir Christopher the gate-house of the palace, except two rooms used as prisons for those who were arrested or delivered in execution to the bishop's bailiff, and the lower rooms, used for the porter's lodge; the first court-yard within the gate-house to the long gallery, dividing it from the second; the stables there, the long gallery, with the rooms above and below it, and some others; fourteen acres of land, and the keeping the gardens and orchards for twenty-one years; the Bishop reserving to himself and his successors free access through the Gate-house, walking in the garden, and to gather twenty bushels of roses yearly.

"The sequel of this transaction was calamitous to Hatton. He had incurred a large debt to the Queen, whose love of money exceeded her love of fine legs and fine dancing. When she demanded the payment, the Chancellor was unable to satisfy the demand. Elizabeth, in her usual high strains, reproached her favourite debtor. This so affected him that he shortly after died of a broken heart. Hatton House since that time has undergone various alterations, and has been devoted to sundry contradictory purposes: it was once a dancing academy, and afterwards a printing-office. The back part of it has been formed into a chapel, at first for a congregation of the New Jerusalem Church, or Swedenborgians; at present (1822) it is used as the regular Caledonian Church."—*Nichols' Progresses*, v. iii. p. 41.

The chapel of Ely House remains for the use of the inhabitants of Ely Place, the houses of which occupy the site of the old palace.

The following account of the new year's gift presented by Sir Christopher Hatton to Queen Elizabeth on the 1st of January, 1589, is from an original roll in the Lansdown Collection, entitled,—

"Newe Yeares Guiftes gyven to the Queene's Majesty at

her Highnes Mannour of Richmond, by these parsons whose names do hereafter ensewe, the first daye, the yeare aforesaide:—

"By Sir Christopher Hatton, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England, a coller of gold, containing eleven peeces, whereof four made like scollop shells garneshed round about with small diamonds and rubyes, one pearle pendaunt and two rubyes pendaunt without foyle, six other longer peeces, eche garneshed with seven pearles, five rubyes of two sorts, sparks of diamonds and two rubyes pendaunt without foyle, having a bigger peece in the midst like a scollop shell, garneshed with diamonds and rubyes of sundry bigness, one pearle in the topp. One rock ruby in the middest, having three fishes pendaunt garnished on the one side with sparks of diamonds and two rubyes pendant, without foyle. And a paire of braceletts of gold, conteyning twelve pieces, six like knotts garneshed with sparks of diamonds, and six like knotts garneshed with sparks of rubyes, and two pearles in a peece, and two pearles betweene eche peece."

Hatton House built and furnished, and Corfe Castle enlarged as well as repaired and furnished, within the space of ten years, together with such incidental expenses as an attendance upon the court of Elizabeth exacted, may readily account for the ruinous condition of the Lord Chancellor's fortune at the time of his decease.

NOTE, page 52.

The Lord Keeper (WILLIAMS) to the Duke of BUCKINGHAM about Sir ROBERT HOWARD, 11th March, 1624:—

"May it please your Grace,—Sir Robert Howard appeared yesterday, and continues obstinate in his refusal to swear. When we came to examine the commission for our power to fine him for this obstinacie, we found that Sir Edward Cook (preseeing out of a prophetical how near it might concern a

grandchild of his own some day) hath expunged this clause (by the help of the Earle of Salisburie) out of the commission, and left us nothing but the rustie sword of the Church, excommunication, to vindicate the authority of this Court. We have given him day until Saturday next, either to conform or to be excommunicated. She (Lady Purbeck) hath answered wittilie and cunningly, but yet sufficient for the conisance of the court; confesseth a fame of incontinencie against her and Howard, but sayeth it was raised by her husband's kindred. I do not doubt but the businesse will go on well, but (peradventure) more slowly if Howard continue refractory, for want of this power to fine and amerce him. I beseech your grace either to procure me the favour to come, or to excuse my not seeing his majestie in this time of his indisposition, which, I hear, still continueth. I beseech Almighty God (as in eternal duty I am bound) presently to ease him, and restore him to his perfect health."

The remainder of this letter refers to the prorogation of the Parliament and high matters of state, which this busy and unscrupulous prelate mainly conducted at this time, being the chief adviser of the Duke of Buckingham. The indisposition of King James, which was fatal to him in the next year, commenced about this period. If that monarch was poisoned, the first experiments were insufficient to cope with his natural strength of frame. He was, however, thought by those around him to be dying at this time; and one of the charges afterwards brought against the Duke of Buckingham, was to the effect of his having quitted the king's bed-side abruptly when he was at Theobald's, apparently in his last agony, for the sole purpose of giving himself the gratification of seeing his sister-in-law, the Lady Purbeck, stand for public penance in a white sheet in the Savoy Chapel. But all the power of Buckingham could never compass this end; the wit of the Lady Purbeck baffled him though he ruled the kingdom. He was furious with the ambassador, through the contrivance of whose pages this lady escaped on one occasion, and threatened the Italian State,

which his excellency represented, with the severe resentment of the British king."

The letter above recorded, and the next which is here inserted, are found in that very interesting collection, which is entitled, '*Cabala, sive Scrinia Sacra*: Mysteries of State and Government; in Letters of illustrious persons and great agents in the reign of Henry VIII., Queen Elizabeth, King James, and the late King Charles. In which the Secrets of Empire and publique manage of affairs are contained, with many remarkable passages no where else published.'—London, 1654.

The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 13th March, 1624.

"May it please your Grace,—For your brother's businesse, this is all I have to acquaint your grace with. Sir Robert Howard appeared yesterday at Lambeth, pretended want of councel (the doctors being out of town), desired respite until to-morrow, and had it granted by my lord's grace. Most men think he will not take this oath at all; I do incline to the contrary opinion, because (to my knowledge) he hath sent far and near for the most able doctors in the kingdom to be feed for him, which were great follie if he intended not to answer. He is extremely commended for his closenesse and secresie by the major part of our audltors (the hee and shee good fellowes of the town); and though he refuseth to be a confessor yet is sure to die a martyr, and most of the ladies in town will offer at his shryne. The Lady Hatton, some nine days since, was at Stoke with the good knight her husband, for some counsel in this particular. But he refused to meddle therewithal, and dismist her ladiship when she had stayed with him very lovingly half a quarter of an hour."

The Lord Keeper to the Duke, 22nd March, 1624.

"May it please your Grace,—I send your grace here inclosed the king's commission and the prince's proxie." This letter chiefly relates to the preliminaries of the Prince Charles's

marriage with the Princess Henrietta Maria of France. After other advice on that subject the letter proceeds as follows:— "I hold it (in a manner) necessary that your grace do carrie over with you one civilian to put your grace in mind of the formalities required. . . . . Your grace hath revived my Lord of Clare, sithence I spake with your grace; and I beseech your grace to follow that resolution, and to let Mr. Packer draw up a warrant, signed by the king, to me, to place him with the rest in the councel of war. It will be an occasion to take up more of that time which he now spends with the Lady Hatton. For now I am resolved that I was right in my conjecture to your grace, that his lordship hath utterly refused my Lady Purbeck's cause (of the which the very common people begin to be ashamed), but is deeply engaged against my Lady of Richmond (Duchess of Richmond) in the businesse of that famous fœminine contract, and bargain of sixteen hundred pounds by the year for a house to sleep in."

Lady Hatton had let her London house to the Duchess of Lenox and Richmond, from whom she exacted what does indeed appear an enormous sum, even for that fashionable and airy part of the town (Holborn), where bushels of roses might be collected in the garden. But Lady Hatton, besides this rent, reserved a portion of the premises for her own occupation; and on one occasion when the duchess gave a party, which proved to be extremely crowded, the company, oppressed with the congregated numbers, insisted on breaking into Lady Hatton's apartments, whereupon a feud arose between that lady and her illustrious tenant, which is the circumstance touched upon in the last recited letter.

The next letter has no date; it was probably written shortly before the death of this young, beautiful, witty, and wretched Lady Purbeck.

> "Fate wings with every wish th' afflictive dart,
> Each gift of nature and each grace of art."

Other lines of the same admirable poem will naturally suggest themselves in this place.

"What gave great Villiers to th' assassin's knife,
And fix'd disease on Harley's closing life?
What murder'd Wentworth, and what exil'd Hyde,
By Kings protected, and to Kings ally'd?
What but their wish indulg'd in courts to shine,
And pow'r too great to keep, or to resign?"

The Lady PURBECK to the Duke of BUCKINGHAM.

"My Lord,—Though you may judge what pleasure there is in the conversation of a man in the distemper you see your brother in, yet the dutie I owe to a husband and the affection I bear him (which sicknesse shall not diminish), makes me much desire to be with him to adde what comfort I can to his afflicted mind, since his onely desire is my companie, which, if it please you to satisfie him in, I shall with a very good will suffer with him, and think all but my dutie, though I think every wife would not do so. But if you can so far dispense with the lawes of God as to keep me from my husband, yet aggravate it not by restraining me from his means and all other contentments, but which, I think, is rather the part of a Christian, you especially ought much rather to studie comforts for me than to adde ills to ills, since it is the marriage of your brother makes me thus miserable. For if you please but to consider not only the lamentable estate I am in, deprived of all comforts of a husband, and having no means to live of, besides falling from the hopes my fortune then did promise me; for you know very well I came no beggar to you, though I am like so to be turned off.

"For your own honor and conscience sake, take some course to give me satisfaction, to tye my tongue from crying to God and the world for vengeance for the unworthy dealing I have received. And think not to send me again to my mother's, where I have stayed this quarter of a year, hoping (for that my mother said you promised) order should be taken for me; but I never received a pennie from you.

"Her confidence of your nobleness made me so long silent; but now, believe me, I will sooner begg my bread in the streets

to all your dishonours, than any more trouble my friends, and especially my mother, who was not only content to afford us part of the little means she hath left her, but whilst I was with her was continually distempered with devised tales which came from your familie, and withal lost your good opinion, which before she either had, or you made show of it; but had it been real I cannot think her words would have been so translated, nor in the power of discontented servants' tales to have ended it.

"My lord, if the great honour you are in can suffer you to have so mean a thought as of so miserable a creature as I am, so made by too much credulitie of your fair promises, which I have waited for performance of almost these five years: and now it were time to despair, but that I hope you will one day be yourself, and be governed by your own noble thoughts, and then I am assured to obtain what I desire, since my desires be so reasonable and but for mine own, which, whether you grant or no, the affliction my poor husband is in (if it continue) will keep my mind in a continual purgatorie for him, and will suffer me to sign myself no other, but your unfortunate sister,

"F. PURBECK."

NOTE, page 63.

The letter next inserted, from Sir John Bankes, is contained in the collection of the Strafford papers.

Sir JOHN BANKES, Attorney-General, to the LORD DEPUTY.

"May it please your Lordship,—I have with that expedition your lordship desired me, dispatched the several Acts of Parliament now and heretofore transmitted into Ireland. They be good laws, and tend to make Ireland to be England in point of government; and therein that nation hath great cause, next under his sacred majesty, to acknowledge your honour to be the chief mover.

"For the cases which your lordship commended to my care, I have spoken with divers of the judges about them, but the

indisposition of the late Lord Chief Justice Richardson, who is now dead, and the long attendance of that great cause of Londonderry (wherein your lordship will receive directions from his majesty), and the judges hastening to go their circuits, have made them defer their resolutions until the beginning of the next term, at which time I will not fail to hasten and attend them.

"I shall in these, and all other your lordship's affairs which concern the publick or your own private, be ready to serve you faithfully, and will remain,

"Your lordship's most humble servant,

"Jo. BANKES.

"Gray's Inn, March 12, 1634."

The commission for the office of Lord Deputy of Ireland, granted by Queen Elizabeth to Sir John Perrot, bears out the Earl of Strafford's statement, to the effect that he had not in his government exceeded the powers granted by former sovereigns to those who exercised that office.

The summary of duties was thus recited in the explanatory note attached to the commission in 1583:—

"The whole Contents of the COMMISSION for the Lord Deputy:—

"To conserve the peace, to punish offenders, to make orders and proclamations, to receive offenders to grace, to give pardons and impose fines, to levy forces, to fight and make peace, to dispose rebels' lands, to pardon all treasons, saving touching the queen's person, and counterfeiting of coyn; to give offices, saving the chancellor, treasurer, two chief justices, chief baron, and Master of the Rolls; to dispose of ecclesiastical livings, except archbishops and bishops; to receive homage and the oath, to make provision for his household according to the ancient custom; to assemble the Parliament with her majestie's privity, to receive the account of officers, saving the treasurer's, to exercise martial law."

NOTE, page 92.

The remarks which Carte offers upon the subject of the Earl of Strafford's last letter to the King seem to deserve more attention than they have as yet received from historians who have written on that time.

"Remonstrances, clamours, menaces, tumults, terrors, all means were made use of to divert the King from a resolution which would have given courage to his faithful servants, and defeated the measures of those who meditated his ruin. Among the methods they took for this purpose, one artifice must not be omitted, because it hath not yet been rightly understood.

"The Commons were filled with uneasy apprehensions about the fate of the bill. They saw the King was in earnest for the acquittal of the Earl of Strafford; they knew the trouble of mind which he suffered upon this occasion, and were afraid lest it should either affect the Lords, so as to restrain them from pressing him in so tender a point, and from passing the bill in their house, or determine his Majesty to refuse the Royal assent afterwards. To remove the main difficulty which lay in the King's conscience, a letter dated from the Tower, May 4, 1641, was delivered to his Majesty, in the name of the Earl of Strafford, 'expressing his resolution to give up his life with all the cheerfulness imaginable in the just acknowledgment of his Majesty's exceeding favours, and for the prosperity of his sacred person and the commonwealth—things infinitely before any man's private interest; telling him that his consent would more acquit him therein to God than all the world besides could do, for to a willing mind there is no injury done; and beseeching him to pass the bill for prevention of those evils which might happen by his refusal.'

"That such a letter was delivered to the King is not to be doubted. Lord Clarendon expressly affirms it; and all the historians of the time agree in that fact. They suppose it to have been really written by the Earl of Strafford, and upon their credit it hath been taken for granted ever since; but

whether the Earl actually wrote it may justly be questioned, not only because the action itself is so very extraordinary that it looks romantic, and he was too wise a man not to foresee the fatal effects which his being given up to popular rage and clamour would have upon the king's counsels and affairs; but also because it cannot be reconciled with that astonishment which seized him upon Secretary Carleton's acquainting him that the King had passed the bill, nor with that exclamation which came from him on that occasion, 'Put not your trust in princes,' &c.

"It appeared on many other occasions that the party which prosecuted the Earl of Strafford with so much violence never stuck at any arts or methods, however wicked and dishonourable, which would serve their ends; and that fictitious letters were one of the most common and successful engines of their policy. It is certain they had it in their power to cause a letter to be delivered to the King in such a manner that he could not possibly suspect its not being sent by the Earl, who was absolutely and solely in the power of his enemies, for they had a few days before sent a message to the Lords, expressing their fears of the Earl of Strafford's designing an escape, and desiring that he might be made a close prisoner and the guard strengthened. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Balfour, refused to admit any person to the sight of the Earl without an order from the Parliament: it is evident, therefore, that nothing was more easy than to carry on such an imposture.

"That it was an imposture cannot reasonably be disputed, after considering the following relation:—The late Mr. Sidney Wortley Montague, second son to Edward the first Earl of Sandwich, used to tell his friends that he had been assured by William the late Earl of Strafford, son of the great man, that when he was admitted to visit his father, the night before his execution, upon occasion of the latter's advising him to a private life, to have nothing to do with courts, and alleging his own melancholy case of being given up a sacrifice to party

rage and malice, after all his merits and services to the Crown, as an instance how little dependence was to be had upon them, he could not help expressing his wonder at those complaints of being given up, and then mentioned the affair of the letter, and the consequences thereof. His father received the account with all the surprise imaginable, and declared to him very solemnly 'that he had never wrote any such letter; and that it was a pure forgery of his enemies, in order to misguide the King to consent to his death.'

"This son of the great but unfortunate Earl and Mr. Montague were bred up, began the world, and set out upon their travels together; and from him, soon after the catastrophe of his father's death, Mr. Montague had this account, which he was very free in averring on various occasions to his friends, particularly to a set of them with whom he used to associate at Mr. Killigrew's lodgings in Somerset House, among which were the late Earls of Sunderland and Orford, Mr. Doddington, and Mr. Howard, now keeper of the Paper Office, from which last I received this relation, and who is still living and ready to attest it.

"Such were the means made use of to obtain the King's consent to the Earl of Strafford's death, a step which afflicted his conscience to the last moment of his life, which emboldened his enemies to all the exorbitant demands which they afterwards made, being assured that, after he had given up Strafford, he could deny them nothing, and which left him not one faithful counsellor about him that durst speak his mind clearly, or give him honest advice in a time when he needed it most, none caring, by so doing, to expose themselves to the rage and fury of a party which would be sure to ruin them, whilst the King was unable to protect them.

"Thus fell the Earl of Strafford, and with him the felicity of Ireland, which flourished under him in a higher degree of prosperity than it had ever enjoyed since it was a nation; but fell presently after his death into those disturbances which made it a scene of blood, confusion, and misery, for many years.

"One of the last requests which the Earl of Strafford made to the King was, that his Garter might be given to the Earl of Ormond, of whose friendship to himself he had lately received so eminent a testimony, and the nobleness of whose sentiments ensured the continuance thereof to his family. His Majesty accordingly made him the offer; but the Earl, more zealous for his master's service than fond of new accessions of honour to himself, generously declined it, representing to the King that it was then a time of danger, and that such a gift might possibly oblige and engage some other person to the Crown who was less attached to it by inclination, and less resolved by principle to serve it, than himself; and therefore desiring his Majesty to bestow the Garter as his service required, and to reserve his bounty for him till all dangers were over. This occasioned his not being made knight of that order till the year 1649, when he was created by King Charles II."—*Carte's Life of James first Duke of Ormond*, vol. i. p. 136.

LETTER from Sir GEORGE WENTWORTH, brother to the Earl of Strafford, written from Chester on the arrival of the news of the breaking out of the Great Irish Rebellion :—

"May it please your Lordship,

"I am thus far on our retreat (towards our poor Yorkshire retirement) with this disconsolate family of ours; and if content be not our own, we are masters of little else, besides misery; for not only behind us, but, if report may be credited, in these kingdoms too, there want not eclipses to threaten us; and if it do no more it is well: but some of the discreeter sort conceive danger to be in it.

"My Lord, these are active times, and I know your power will be called upon, in assistance, to better these disquiets; your counsel desired to fill into some evenness these breaches; your judgment and fidelity to be relied on,—no subject's more; and therefore, good my Lord, in a just consideration of my obligations, and of your own merits, suffer this boldness in me, by which I humbly entreat to be crowded in the multitude of

those that have the honour to march under your command. And, since we are all likely to try our fortunes in that kingdom, dear my Lord, let me not be so unblessed as to be sheltered under any other covert than your own. Challenge me as a person that am then richest in my own content if in any one thing I can appear grateful to your exceeding friendship to our family.

"Your Lordship's truly faithful and most humble servant,

"G. WENTWORTH."

The story of Lord Strafford's last letter to the King will probably continue to be received as related by Hume and others; nor is it easy to conceive such an extent of villany as the allegation contained in Carte's history implies; and yet it has always appeared inconsistent with the truly noble character of the Earl of Strafford that he should make a generous offer of his life to the King, and afterwards utter reproaches when he found that the offer made by him was acted upon.

NOTE, page 96.

Williams, who had been Lord Keeper, and was at this time Bishop of Lincoln, has the discredit of being named as the person who mainly urged the king to act in contradiction of his conscientious conviction, and in disregard of his solemn promise. It is said that this prelate conveyed to the Earl an intimation that the king's hesitation rested solely on the ground of the promise he had given, for that he entertained the full persuasion of his guilt; and those who believe Strafford to have been the writer of the letter to the king, have concluded that, in the agitation raised by this communication, he wrote according to the dictate of feelings which this false intelligence was calculated to excite.

The Earl of Strafford's last letter to his son has been published in the 'Biographia Britannica.' But the admirable tenor of the advice which it contains, and the truly Christian

feeling which pervades the whole, will render it acceptable in a more portable volume than that in which it has already appeared.

A LETTER from Lord STRAFFORD to his Son, written on the day before his Execution: —

"My dearest Will,—These are the last lines you are to receive from a father who tenderly loves you; I wish there was greater leisure to impart my mind to you; but our merciful God will supply all things by his grace, and guide and protect you in all his ways, to whose infinite goodness I bequeath you; and therefore be not discouraged, but serve him and trust in him, and he will preserve you and prosper you in all things. Be sure you give all respect to my wife that hath ever had a great love for you, and therefore it will well become you never to be wanting in your love and care to her and to your sisters; but let them be most dear to you, for this will give others cause to esteem and respect you for it, and it is a duty you owe to them in the memory of your excellent mother and myself; therefore, your care and affection to them must be the very same you are to have of yourself, and the like regard must you have to your younger sister, for indeed you owe it to her also, both for her father and mother's sake. Sweet Will, be careful to take the advice of those friends which are by me desired to advise you for your education. Serve God diligently morning and evening, and recommend yourself unto him, and have him before your eyes in all your ways. With patience hear the instructions of those friends I leave with you, and diligently follow their counsel, for till you come by time to have experience in the world, it will be far more safe to trust to their judgment than your own. Lose not the time of your youth, but gather those seeds of virtue and knowledge which will be of use to yourself and comfort to your friends for the rest of your life; but that this may be better effected, attend thereunto with patience, and be sure to correct and refrain yourself from anger. Suffer not

sorrow to eat you down, but with cheerfulness and good courage go on your race you have to run in all sobriety and truth. Be sure, with a hallowed care, to have all respect for the commandments of God; give not yourself to neglect them in the least things, lest by degrees you come to forget them in your greatness, for the heart of man is deceitful above all things; and in all your duties and devotions towards God, rather perform them joyfully than pensively, for God loveth a cheerful giver. For your religion, let it be directed according to that which shall be taught by those who are in God's church, by the preachers thereof, rather than that you either fancy one to yourself, or be led by men who are singular in their own opinions, and delight to go in ways of their own finding out; for you will certainly find soberness and truth in the one, and much unsteadiness and vanity in the other. Be sure to avoid as much as you can to inquire after those that have been sharp in their judgment against me; and I charge you never to suffer a thought of revenge to enter into your heart, but be careful to be informed who were my friends in this prosecution, and to them apply yourself to make them your friends also, and on such you may rely; bestow much of your conversation amongst them, and God Almighty, of his infinite goodness, bless you and your children's children, and his same goodness bless your sisters also in like manner, perfect you all in every good work, and give you a right understanding in all things.

"From your most loving father,

"THOMAS WENTWORTH.

"Tower, this 11th of May, 1641.

"You must be careful to behave yourself towards my Lady Clare, your grandmother, with all duty and observance; for most tenderly doth she love you, and hath been passing kind unto me; God reward her charity for it. And both in this and all the rest the same that I counsel you, the same do I direct also to your sisters, that so the same may be observed by you all; and once more do I, from my very soul, beseech our

gracious God to bless and govern you in all good works, to the saving you in the days of his visitation, and join us again in communion of his blessed Saints, where there is fullness of joy and blessedness for evermore. Amen, Amen."

A few extracts from the memoirs written by a member of his family are here added with reference to this great political victim:—

"He was exceedingly temperate in meat and drink and recreations; though he loved to see good meat at his table, yet he ate very little of it himself. Beef or rabbits were his ordinary food, or cold, powdered meats, or cheese and apples, and in moderate quantity. He was never drunk in his life, yet he was not so scrupulous but he would drink healths where he liked his company, and be as sociable as any of his society, and yet still within the bounds of temperance. In Ireland, where drinking was grown a disease epidemical, he was more strict publicly, never suffering any health to be drunk at his public table but the king's, queen's, and prince's, on solemn days.

"He loved hawking, and was a good falconer, yet in his later days he got little time to see his hawks fly, though he always kept good ones. He played excellently well at *Primero* and *Mayo*, and, for company's sake, in Christmas and after supper he would play sometimes. His chief recreation was after supper, when, if he had company which were suitable to him, that is, honest, cheerful men, he would retire into an inner room and sit two or three hours, telling stories with great pleasantness and freedom.

"He loved justice for justice itself, taking great delight to free a poor man from a powerful oppressor, or to punish bold wickedness, whereof there are sundry instances to be given both at York and in Ireland. This lost him some men's good will, which he thought better to be lost than kept upon those terms. One person of quality, whom he had severely punished at York, came to be one of his judges in the Lords'

House, and there did him all justice and favour in his last troubles, who therefore deserves to be honoured, especially by us who had relation to him.

"In Ireland, in the compass of seven years, whereas the king's revenue in that kingdom before he came thither had fallen every year short above 20,000*l.* of defraying the public charge, he brought the king's revenue not only to pay all, but to yield above 60,000*l.* yearly above all payments. He saw the army complete, duly paid, duly clothed, and duly exercised. He secured the sea from piracies, so as only one ship was lost on his first coming, and no more all his time; whereas every year before not only several ships and goods were lost by robbery at sea, but also Turkish men-of-war usually landed, and took prey of men to be made slaves.

"But amongst all his qualities none was more eminent than his friendship, wherein he did study and delighted to excel—a subject whereon I can worst express myself, though I have most to say, and greater scope to enlarge myself. He never had anything in his possession or power which he thought too dear for his friends. He never was weary to take pains for them, or to employ the utmost of his abilities in their service; he was never forgetful, nor needed to be solicited, to do or procure any courtesy which he thought useful for, or desired by them.

NOTE, page 99.

The plot of the great Irish rebellion was discovered by Owen O'Conally, a gentleman of Irish extraction, but who had been employed by Sir John Clotworthy in his affairs, and was by profession a Protestant. What motive there was for such a confidence in him does not appear; but he had been sent for by Hugh MacMahon (a grandson by the mother's side to the old Tyrone) to his house at Connagh, in the county of Monaghan, and the messenger, learning that he was gone from thence, had followed him to Dublin.

When Conally first communicated intelligence of the plot to

Sir William Parsons, Sir William, thinking the account too general, or not giving entire credit to the relator, sent him back to MacMahon's lodgings, with orders to get out of him as much certainty and as many particulars as he could of the plot, and to return to him that evening with his further discoveries. But after the man was gone, considering coolly the importance of the affair, he thought fit to give strict orders to the Constable of the Castle to have the gates thereof well guarded, and to make stay of all strangers, and then went privately about ten of the clock that night to his colleague, Sir John Borelace, who lived in Chichester House, on College Green, without the town, to give him an account of the affair.

Sir John was deeply affected with the relation, and infinitely concerned at the discoverer's being allowed to go. Summonses were immediately sent for all members of the Council, and a search was made for Conally, whose going out had raised strong suspicion in MacMahon, so that he resolved to keep him in his lodgings all night, and to carry him along with him, to the surprise of the castle, next day, threatening him with death in case any discovery had been made. Conally affected to appear easy under these circumstances, and continued drinking until he found means to quit the room, leaving his sword as if intending speedily to return, then leaping a wall he escaped, but being in a state of intoxication he was seized by the watch, in whose custody Sir William Parsons' servants found him. Conally had drank so freely that the examiners were obliged to allow him some time for recovery before he was capable of giving rational answers to the questions which they put to him.

"Thus (says Carte) by the hand of Providence, rather than the care of the governors, was defeated a design easy in execution, and which (if it had taken effect) would have endangered the whole kingdom; for there were in the city at that time fifteen Papists to one Protestant, and not a company of the army there, it having been objected to the Earl of Strafford at

his trial that he had billeted soldiers in Dublin, the Lords Justices were not disposed to incur the risk of an inculpation on the same grounds, for in truth there existed no Act of Parliament which justified that mode of proceeding. This was one of the bold precautions which Strafford had thought himself justified in adopting, though illegal; and the Lords Justices were now severely blamed by many for not pursuing that course, which had formed one of the chief grounds of the great earl's impeachment."

NOTE, page 105.

"There goes a story, which I have heard confirmed for truth, that a certain witty nobleman (Lord Digby), the next morning after the passing this bill for the continuance of this Parliament during their pleasure, coming to the king uprising, saluted him in this familiar manner: 'Good morrow, fellow subject,' which though at present it did only a little surprise his majesty, yet afterwards he found that no less was by that Act intended, which treated him as a co-ordinate third estate."—*Nalson.*

NOTE, page 107.

The Archbishop of York, who was thus sent to the Tower, together with his right rev. brethren, in so summary a manner, was the same prelate who, when Bishop of Lincoln, had mainly prevailed in extorting the king's reluctant assent to the execution of the Earl of Strafford.

Being now in his turn an imprisoned inmate of the Tower, he thus expresses his own opinion of the circumstances under which he finds himself there:—"Without debate of the cause, the bishops are packed away late at night, in bitter frost and snow, to keep their Christmas in durance and sorrow, upon no other charge but that they presented their mind in a most humble paper to be allowed to go abroad in safety."

The Archbishop (Williams) was thus an inmate of the

same prison with Archbishop Laud, to whose arrest he had mainly contributed, having seconded in the House of Lords the Lord Say and Seale's famous speech against that primate. Williams was Dean of Westminster as well as Archbishop of York; and when the mob assailed the Abbey he gallantly headed the force by which they were expelled. This circumstance rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to the excited multitude; and having been nearly killed on one occasion, and prevented from entering the House of Lords on another, he convened his right reverend brethren at his deanery, and proposed their signature to a remonstrance to the Peers, the propriety of which these bishops saw no reason to question, Williams having himself acted as Lord Keeper and Speaker of the House of Lords.

These reverend prelates were detained in close custody until after the Bill for putting them out of the House of Parliament was passed in the spring of 1642; they were then released, and in June of the same year the archbishop was enthroned in his own cathedral at York, but he was forced away from thence soon afterwards.

Lord Clarendon thus relates the occasion of the advancement of this prelate:—"After the king thought it necessary to make him Archbishop of York, which, as the time then was, could not qualify him to do more harm, and might possibly dispose and oblige him to do some good, he carried himself so insolently in the House and out of the House to all persons, that he became much more odious universally than ever the other archbishop (Laud) had been, having many more enemies than he and few or no friends, of which the other had abundance; and the great hatred of the man's person and behaviour was the greatest invitation to the House of Commons to revive so irregularly that Bill to remove the bishops, and was their chief encouragement to hope that the Lords, who had rejected the former, would now pass and consent to this second Bill." Being sent for to attend the king at Oxford, he gave his majesty the best advice that his knowledge and experience

furnished him with; and, among other things, declared that Cromwell, taken into the rebels' army by his cousin Hampden, was the most dangerous enemy that his majesty had, for though he were at that time of mean rank and use amongst them, yet he would climb higher; and then, proceeding to give Cromwell his true character, he concludes,—"In short, every beast hath some evil properties, but Cromwell hath the properties of all evil beasts." After some stay at Oxford the archbishop returned to his own country, having received a fresh charge from his majesty to take care of all North Wales, but especially of Conway Castle.

NOTE, page 143.

On the 12th of July, 1642, the question of raising an army was discussed in Parliament. Whitelock, on this occasion, delivered a speech, of which the following are some of the passages:—

"Mr. Speaker, it is strange to note how we have insensibly slid into this beginning of a civil war, by one unexpected incident after another, as waves of the sea, which hath brought us thus far, and we scarce know how, but from paper combats, by declarations, remonstrances, protestations, votes, messages, answers, and replies. We are now come to a question of raising forces, naming a general, and officers of our army.

"Of a potent people we shall make ourselves weak, and be the instruments of our own ruin; *perditio tua ex te* will be said of us; we shall burn our own houses, lay waste our own fields, pillage our own goods, open our own veins, and eat our own bowels.

"Pardon, Sir, the warmth of my expression on this argument; it is to prevent a flame which I see kindled in the midst of us that may consume us to ashes. The sum of the progress of civil war is the rage of fire and sword and (which is worse) of British men. What the issue of it will be no man alive can tell; probably few of us now here may live to see

the end of it. It hath been said that he that draws his sword against his prince must throw away the scabbard. Those differences are scarce to be reconciled. These commotions are like the deep seas, which, being once stirred, are not soon appeased. I wish the observation of the *Duke de Rohan*, in his *Interest of Christendom*, may prove a caution, not a prophecy; he saith of England, that it is a great creature which cannot be destroyed but by its own hand. And there is not a more likely hand than that of civil war to do it.

"Yet, Sir, when I have said this, I am not for a tame resignation of our religion, lives, and liberties, into the hands of our adversaries, nor do I think it inconsistent with our wisdom to prepare for a just and necessary defence of them.

"It was truly observed by a noble gentleman, that if our enemies find us provided to resist our attempts upon them, it will be the likeliest way to bring them to an accord with us; and upon this ground I am for the question.

"But I humbly move you to consider whether it be not yet too soon to come to it? We have tried by the proposals of peace to his majesty, and they have been rejected. Let us try yet again, and appoint a committee who may review our former propositions.

"And where they find the matter of them fit to be altered, that they present the alterations to the House and their opinions; and that, as far as may stand with the security of us and our cause, we may yield our endeavours to prevent the miseries which look black upon us, and to settle a good accommodation, so that there may be no strife between us and those of the other party, for we are brethren."

"Resolved upon the Question,—That an army shall be forthwith raised for the safety of the king's person, defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who have obeyed their orders and commands, and for preserving the true religion, the laws, liberty, and peace of the kingdom.

"Resolved upon the Question,—That the Earl of Essex shall be general.

"Resolved upon the Question,—That this House doth declare that, in this cause, for the safety of the king's person, defence of both Houses of Parliament, and of those who have obeyed their orders and commands, and preserving of the true religion, the laws, liberty and peace of the kingdom, they will *live and die with* the Earl of Essex, whom they have nominated general in this cause.

"Resolved upon the Question,—That a petition shall be framed to move his majesty to a good accord with his Parliament to prevent a civil war.

"The petition being drawn was agreed upon the question, and with these votes was presented to the Lords, who gave their full assent.

"Whereupon both Houses ordered,—That the Earl of Holand, Sir John Holland, and Sir Philip Stapleton, should forthwith repair to Beverley and present the petition unto his majesty."—*Rushworth.*

We have here in detail the history of the last deputation to the king previous to the breaking out of the civil war; and if we may judge of the temper of a considerable portion of the Members of the House of Commons, from the substance of the speech delivered by Whitelock on this occasion, we must feel how well justified in their opinion were those Members of the King's Council who urged that the possibility of accommodation should not be thrown away, by persevering in the retention of the preamble to a reply which, however ably written, and however true may have been the contents, it could be of no advantage to the king's service to insist upon, whilst it had inevitably the ill effect of more closely knitting together those whom it should have been the study of the king's counsellors to have disunited.

NOTE, page 181.

Purbeck commonly, but improperly, called an island, is in reality only a peninsula; for it may be entered from East

Lullworth by an isthmus between the head of Luckford Lake and the sea. Its length from Luckford Lake to Peveril Point is about twelve miles; its greatest breadth from Arne to St. Aldhelm's Chapel ten miles. Its whole circumference, taking in all the windings of the shore, is extensive.

The forest extended over the whole island, and the woods were well stocked with red and fallow deer, and stags, especially in the western parts; but these were destroyed in the civil wars. King James I. was the last of our kings who hunted here, in 1615.

"The Lord of the Manor was Lord-Lieutenant of the island, an hereditary office scarce enjoyed by any private person in the kingdom; he was also Admiral of the island, and Governor of Brownsea Castle. He had power to raise and muster a militia.

"This power ceased when the Militia Act was passed, 1757, Mr. Bankes not entering his claim; and the direction of it is now under the Lord-Lieutenant of the county. Corfe Castle anciently enjoyed great privileges, and was exempt from any services in the county."—*Hutchins's Hist. of Dorset*, vol. i.

Note, page 181.

In the King's Library in the British Museum is a collection of maps of the counties in England, draughts of seaports, &c., dated 1579. These formerly belonged to Lord Burghley, having on the sides and bottom of each map several memorandums in his own handwriting.

At the bottom of the map of Dorset are memorandums of places dangerous in regard to the possible invasion of this county; these notes seem to have been prepared with reference to the invasion apprehended from Spain.

It includes the coast of Purbeck, on the British Channel, to Weymouth. The following are a few of the particulars:—

"At Studland Bay forty boats may land; at Swanwich (Swanage) and Studland may ride 600 or 700 sail of ships, of a

1000 ton, almost in all winds; there is good landing almost three miles: at Worbarrow Bay and Shipman's Pool may ride about 500 sail, of a 1000 ton, in most winds."

NOTE, page 161.

The officers and troops who fought under the Earl of Essex at Edgehill did not for the most part believe that the king was really present in the battle; and some of them would hardly credit this when assured of the fact by Royalists who were taken prisoners. The notion of fighting against the king was at this time very painful to them.

The intense cold of the night following the day of battle saved the lives of some of the most severely wounded, by stopping the flow of blood; and persons who were lamented as dead came to the king's quarters long after all hope of seeing them again had been despaired of.

NOTE, page 166.

When the four peers and eight commoners came on the mission to Oxford in their coaches and six nobly attended, there followed also numerous carts with cooks and other subordinates bearing a large store of provisions, for the belief existed in London that Oxford was bordering on a state of famine; whereas, in point of fact, Oxford was at that time more abundantly supplied than London; the expenditure of the nobles and others in attendance on the king being on a most liberal scale. The carts which arrived with these supplies were consequently the subject of great ridicule amongst the adherents of the king. The Earl of Northumberland, however, as well on this as on the subsequent occasion of his visit to Oxford, continued to have his table magnificently supplied from his own places of residence; and whenever any article of peculiar excellence or rarity was brought to him he sent it for the use of the king.

NOTE, page 178.

The DIURNALL, called the MERCURIUS AULICUS, of Friday March 10, 1643:—

"This day came news also that the queen doth continue still at the town of Burlington, and that she doth not mean to remove thence till she hath seen all the arms and ammunition which she brought from Holland, sent away before her; that she hath sent away already from thence to York 200 wainloads of armour, powder, shot, match, and other kinds of ammunition; and that there is as much, if not more, behind to be sent after; which, when it is conveyed from thence and safely lodged within the walls of York, then she intendeth to advance.

"Saturday, March 25.—This day it was advertised that a letter of the queen's unto his majesty, being intercepted, and brought unto the hands of Master Pym, was by him tendered to be read in the House of Commons on an opinion that some intended treason might be there discovered which might redound to her dishonour. But finding, contrary to his expectation, that the queen did intercede for peace and persuade hard for an accommodation, he was exceedingly discontented, as commonly men are that have lost their hopes.

"Wednesday, August 9.—It was advertised this day that the castle and isle of Portland were reduced again under his majesties command, which had been taken by the rebels about March last. The manner how it was regained is reported thus:—A gentleman, well known unto the rebels, came to the noble Earl of Carnarvon and gave him very good assurance that if he would trust him sixty of his men he would forthwith make him master of the isle and castle. The earl, considering that the castle and isle were richly worth the adventuring of sixty muskets, having taken so many arms at Dorchester, condescended he should have them, which being obtained, the gentleman furnished them with Parliament colours, and making towards the castle with so confused a speed as though he fled from an enemy, called upon the guards, and told them

he had brought some Parliament forces to make good the place, but that they were pursued so closely by the Earl of Carnarvon, that if they had not speedy entrance they should all be lost. This was no sooner heard by the credulous rebels but all the haste was made that could be to set open the ports, at which his majesty's soldiers entered, and seizing on the guards, who looked not for such unwelcome visitants, made themselves masters of it without further trouble.

"It is a place of very great importance, as having the command of the haven and town of Weymouth, against which it lieth; and, as the case then stood, of most infinite wealth, all the rich household stuff and treasure which had been taken by the rebels out of Wardour Castle, with a great deal more of goods, plate, and money, being stored up there.

"It was also certified from those parts that Poole, Melcombe and Weymouth, which were in treaty with the Earl of Carnarvon (as you heard the last week), upon the yielding up of Dorchester, have since submitted to his majesty, so that all Dorsetshire is totally reduced again to its old obedience."

NOTE, page 191.

Amongst the charges upon the Dorset county rate for the year 1643, appear the cost of the Boar and Sow. Those contrivances which figured with so little success in Sir Walter Erle's assault upon the castle.

Bury was the name of the county treasurer at this time. The following are items extracted from his accounts:—

	£.	s.	
June 14, 1643.—Paid for loading and unloading great Guns brought from Portsmouth to Corfe Castle - - - - - -			
July 7.—For Boards, Hair, and Wool, for making a Sow against the Castle - - - -	2	3	4
July 12.—For three Truckle Wheels for the Sow -	0		0
July 10.—For 74 Boards and 120 feet of Oaken Plank employed in the siege - - -	7	4	

	£.	s.	d.
July 24.—To 20 Soldiers for planting the Ordnance	1	0	0
July 28.—For Powder, Match, and Bullets for the Gunners - - - - - -	268	12	3
Aug. 2.—For a firkin of Hot Waters for the Soldiers when they scaled the Castle - - -	1	12	0

NOTE, page 241.

James Howell, who was one of the clerks of the Privy Council in the time of Charles I., has left a very interesting collection of letters, of which many were published in the time of the Protectorate. Some of his earliest correspondence was held with Richard Altham, a near relative of Lady Bankes; but those letters relate chiefly to the reign of James I. In 1643 Howell was arrested, and remained incarcerated during several years: he employed many of his leisure hours by writing to his friends on various subjects, sometimes referring to the events which were passing around his prison. The following letter gives the account of his arrest:—

"To the Earl of BRISTOL, from the Fleet.

"My Lord,—I was lately come to London upon some occasions of mine own, and had been divers times in Westminster Hall, where I conversed with many Parlement men of my acquaintance; but one morning betimes there rush'd into my chamber five armed men with swords, pistolls, and bills, and told me they had a warrant from the Parlement for me. I desired to see their warrant; they denied it. I desired to see my name in the warrant; they denied all. At last, one of them pull'd out a greasie paper out of his pocket, and shewd me only three or four names subscribed, and no more; so they rush'd presently into my closet and seizd on all my papers, letters, and any thing that was manuscript, and many printed books they took also, and hurl'd all into a great hair trunk, which they carried away with them. I had taken a little physic that morning, and with very much ado they suffer'd me to stay in my chamber, with two guards upon me, till the

evening, at which time they brought me before the committee for examination, where I confess I found good respects; and being brought up to the close committee I was order'd to be forthcoming till some papers of mine were perused, and Mr. Corbet was appointed to do it. Some days after, Mr. Corbet told me he had perused them, and could find nothing that might give offence; hereupon I desired him to make a report to the House accordingly, which (as I was told) he did very fairly; yet such was my hard-hap that I was committed to the Fleet, where I now am under close restraint; and, as far as I see, I must lye at dead anchor in this Fleet a long time, unless some gentle gale blow thence to make me launch out. God's will be done and amend the times, and make up these ruptures which threaten so much calamity.

"So I am, your Lopp. most faithfull (though now afflicted) Servitor, "JAMES HOWELL."

The next letter, written some years later, refers to the same period of 1643.

"To Dr. W. TURNER.

"Sir,—I return you my most thankful acknowledgments for that collection, or *farrago* of prophecies as you call them, you pleas'd to send me lately, specially that of *Nosterdamus*, which I shall be very chary to preserve for you. I could requite you with divers predictions more, and of some of the British bards which, were they translated to English, would transform the world to wonder.

"They sing of a Red Parlement and White King, of a race of people which should be called Penguins, of the fall of the Church, and divers other things which glance upon these times. But I am none of those that afford much faith to rambling prophecies, which are like so many odd grains sown in the vast field of Time, whereof not one in a thousand comes to grow up again and appear above ground.

"But that I may correspond with you in some part for the like courtesie, I send you these following prophetic verses of

White-hall, which were made above twenty years ago to my knowledge, upon a book called 'Balaam's Ass,' that consisted of some invectives against King James and the Court in that time. It was composed by one Mr. Williams, a counsellor of the Temple, but a Roman Catholic, who was hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd at Charing Cross for it; and I believe there be hundreds that have copies of these verses, ever since that time, about the town yet living. They were these:—

'The Prophet rode one day to court,
And there he left his Ass;
The courtiers kick'd him out of doores,
Because they had no grass. (grace)

The Ass went mourning up and down,
And thus I heard him bray;
If that they could not give me grass,
They might have given me hay:

But sixteen hundred forty-three,
Whoso ere shall see that day,
Will nothing find within that court,
But only grass and hay.' &c.

which was found to happen true in White-hall, till the soldiers, coming to quarter there, trampled it down.

"Truly, Sir, I find all things conspire to make strange mutations in this miserable island. I fear we shall fall from under the scepter to be under the sword; and, since we speak of prophecies, I am afraid, among others, that which was made since the Reformation will be verified,—the Churchman was, the Lawyer is, the Soldier shall be.

"Welcome be the will of God, who transvolves kingdoms, and tumbles down monarchies as mole-hills at his pleasure. So I rest, my dear Doctor, your most faithfull servant,

"J. HOWELL.

"Fleet, 9th August. 1648."

Another letter is addressed to the Hon. Sir Edward Spencer, Knight, at his house near Branceford (Brentford).

"Sir,—We are not so bare of intelligence within these walls but we can hear of your doings in Branceford. That so general applause, whereby you were cryed up knight of the shire for Middlesex, sounded round about us upon London streets, and echo'd in every corner of the town.

"I return you the manuscript you lent me of 'Dæmonologie;' but the author and I are two in point of opinion that way, for he seems to be on the negative part, and truly he writes as much as can be produced for his purpose. But there are some men that are of a meer negative genius; I will not say that this gentleman is so perverse; but to deny there are any witches, to deny that there are ill spirits which seduce, tamper and converse in divers shapes with human creatures, and impell them to actions of malice, I say that he who denies there are such busie spirits, shews that he hath himself a spirit of contradiction in him, opposing the current and consentient opinion of all antiquity.

"We read that both Jews and Romans, with all other nations of Christendom, and our ancestors here in England, enacted laws against witches. The Judaical law is apparent in the holy code, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.' The Roman law of the Twelve Tables, which is yet extant, condemns inchanters who blight the crops. The Imperial law is known by every civilian; and the Acts of Parliament in England are against those that invoke evil spirits, that take up any dead man, woman, or child, or take the skin or bone of any dead body to employ it to sorcery or charm, whereby one is lamed, or made to pine away, &c., such shall be guilty of flat felony, and not capable of clergy or sanctuary, &c.

"What a multitude of examples are there in good authentic authors of divers kinds of fascinations, incantations, prestigiations; of philtres, spells, charms, sorceries, also of magic and divinations. Surely the witch of Endor is no fable; and that of the Marchioness d'Ancre, in Paris of late years, is no fable. The execution of Nostredamus for a kind of witch, some fourscore years since, is but a modern story, who, among other

things, foretold *Le Senat de Londres tuera son Roy.* The best historians have it upon record how Charlemain's mistress inchanted him with a ring, which, as long as she had about her, he would not suffer her dead carkase to be carried out of his chamber to be buried, and a bishop taking it out of her mouth, the emperour grew to be as much bewitch'd with the bishop, but he being cloyed with this excess of favour, threw it into a pond, where the emperour's chiefest pleasure was to walk till his dying day.

"But we need not cross the sea for examples of this kind; we have too many (God wot) at home. King James a great while was loth to believe there were witches, but that which happened to the Lord Francis of Rutland's children convinced him, who were bewitch'd by an old woman that was servant at Belvoir Castle. But since the beginning of these unnatural wars there may be a cloud of witnesses produced for the proof of this black tenet; for within the compass of two years near upon three hundred witches were arraign'd, and the major part executed in Essex and Suffolk only. Scotland swarms with them now more than ever, and persons of good quality are executed daily.

"Your most humble and affectionate faithfull servant,

"J. H.

"Fleet, this 20th of February, 1647."

Persons of good quality in the present day ought to feel very thankful that the Acts of Parliament above-mentioned are no longer in force, or they might find themselves within reach of rappings of a more serious nature than those which are the subject of their present investigations.

The gloomy course of the civil war gave occasion and encouragement to the superstitious fancies which largely prevailed at that time, not only in the eastern counties, but also throughout other portions of Great Britain. Pamphlets were published teeming with prodigies, of which the following are specimens:—"At Bradford, in Yorkshire, there appear'd in

the air the visions of two several armies, skyrmishing one against the other, with colours flying; the sound of drums was perfectly heard, and the noyse of musquett reports, which continued the space of three hours, to the admiration of many hundreds that were spectators."

"Again, near Skipton in the same countie, not far from Denton (where the Lord General Fairfax was born), it rayned blood, of which myself was eye-witness, in the company of many more. In the same year (at six of the clock in the morning) being in June, two suns appear'd, and continued visible the space of two hours. Near Scarborough, not far from Rippon in Yorkshire, in the year 1644, thousands of crowes, called rookes, did meet and fight in two bodies, until a considerable number were killed and fell upon the ground. In Norfolk, in the year 1645, a childe was born, who presently spake some certain things that should ensue in these times, and lived not above two hours. In Buckinghamshire, at Aylisbury, a child was born that declared some strange passages, which should happen in this kingdom, and lived not above three dayes, but dyed."

To Captain William Bridges in Amsterdam.

"My noble Captain,—I had yours of the tenth current. The news under this clyme is, that they have mutinied lately in divers places about the Excise, a bird that was first hatch'd there amongst you. Here in London the tumult came to that height that they burnt down to the ground the Excise-house in Smithfield; but now all is quiet again. God grant the Excise here have not the same fortune as yours there to become perpetual, or as that new gabell of Orleans, which began at the time of the Ligue, which continueth to this day, notwithstanding the cause ceased about threescore years since. Touching this, I remember a pleasant tale that is recorded of Henry the Great, who, some years after peace was established throughout the whole body of France, going to his town of Orleans, the citizens petitioned him that his majesty would be pleased to

abolish that new tax. The king asked who had imposed it upon them? They answered, Monsieur de la Châtre (during the civil wars of the Ligue), who was now dead. The king replied, *Monsieur de la Châtre vous a ligué quil vous deslique.* Now that we have a kind of peace, the gaols are full of soldiers, and some gentlemen's sons of quality suffer daily. You know the saying in France, that *la guerre fait les larrons, et la paix les ammeines au gibet.*

"I lie still here in limbo; and I know not upon what star to cast this misfortune. I would continue to love you though I tug'd at an oar in a gallie, much more as I walk in the galleries of this Fleet.

"In this resolution I rest, your most affectionate servitor,

"J. H.

"Fleet, 2nd September, 1645."

NOTE, p. 241.

THE COUNTER-SCUFFLE.

Let that majestick pen that writes
Of brave King Arthur and his knights,
And of their noble feats and fights;
And those who tell of mice and frogs,
And of the skirmishes of hogs,
And of fierce bears and mastive dogs,
Be silent.

And now let each one listen well,
While I the famous battle tell,
In Wood Street Counter that befell,
In high Lent.

In which great scuffle only twain,
Without much hurt, or being slain,
Immortal honour did obtain,
By merit.

One was a Captain in degree,
A strong and lusty man was hee,
T'other a tradesman bold and free
Of spirit.

And though he was no man of force,
He had a stomach like a horse,
And in his rage had no remorse
Or pity.

Full nimbly could he cuffe and clout,
And was accounted, without doubt,
One of the prettiest sparks about
The City.

And at his weapon any way
He could perform a single fray,
Even from the long pike to the tay-
lor's bodkin.

He reckt not for his flesh a jot,
He fear'd nor Englishman nor Scot,
For man or monster, cared he not
A dodkin.

For fighting was his recreation,
And, like a man in desperation,
For law, edict, or proclamation
He cared not.

And in his anger (cause being given)
To lift his hand 'gainst Sir Steven,
Or any Justice under Heaven,
He feared not.

And noble Ellis was his name,
Who, 'mongst his foes to purchase fame,
Nor cared though any devill came,
Or wilde bear.

And this brave Goldsmith was the man
Who first this worthy brawl began,
Which after ended in a can
Of mild beer.

Imagin now you see a score
Of madcap gentlemen, or more—
Boys that did use to royst and roar,
And swagger.

Amongst the which were three or four
That ruled themselves by wisdom's lore,
Whose very grandsires scarcely wore
A dagger.

A Priest and Lawyer—men well read,
In wiping spoons and chipping bread,
And falling to, short grace being said,
Full roundly.

Whose hungry mawes no sallads need,
Good appetites therein to breed;
Their stomachs without sauce could feed
Profoundly.

'Twas ill that men of sober dyet,
Who loved to use their jaws in quiet,
Were placed with ruffians that to ryot
Were given.

And (o great grief) even from their food,
(Their stomachs, too, being strong and good)
And that sweet place whereon it stood
Be driven.

Then wipe your mouths, while I declare
The goodness of this Lenten fare,
Which is in prison very rare,
Assure ye.

Eggs by the dozen, new and good,
Which in white salt uprightly stood,
And meats which heat and stir the blood
To fury.

Stuck thick with cloves upon the back,
Well stuft with sage, and for the smack,
Daintily strew'd with pepper black,
Sous'd gurnet,

Pickrell, sturgeon, tench, and trout,
Meat far too good for such a rout,
To tumble, toss, and throw about,
And spurn it.

The next a neat's tongue neatly dryde,
Mustard and sugar by his side,
Rochets butter'd, flounders fryed,
Hot custard,

Eeles boyl'd and broyl'd; and next they bring,
Herring, that is the fishes king,
And then a courtly poll of ling,
And mustard,

But stay, I had almost forgot
The flesh which still stands piping hot;
Some from the spit, some from the pot,
New taken.

A shoulder and a leg of mutton,
As good as ever knife was put on,
Which never were by a true *glutton*
Forsaken.

Thus the descriptions are *compleat*,
Which I have made of men and *meat*:
Mars, aid me now, while I repeat
The battle.

Where pots and *stools* were used *as gins*,
To break each other's heads and shins,
Where blows did make bones in their skins
To rattle.

The board thus furnisht, each man sate,
Some fell to feeding, some to prate,
'Mong whom a jarring question strait
Was risen.

For they grew hotly in dispute
What calling was of most repute—
'T was well their wits were so acute
In prison.

While they discours'd the parson blythe
Fed, as he meant to have the tythe,
Of every dish, being sharp (as scythe)
In feeding.

But haste had almost made him choke,
Or else, perhaps, he would have spoke
In prayse of his long, thred-bare cloke,
And breeding.

But after a deliberate pause,
The lawyer spoke, as he had cause,
In commendation of the lawes
Profession.

The law, quoth he, by a just doom,
Doth censure all that to it come,
And still defends the innocent from
Oppression.

It favours truth, it curbs the hope
Of vice; it gives allegiance scope;
Provides a gallows and a rope
For treason.

This doth the law, and this is it
Which makes us here in prison sit,
Which grounded is on holy writ
And reason.

To which all men must subject be,
As we by daily proof do see,
From highest to lowest degree.
The scholar,

Noble and rich, it doth subdue
The soldier and his swaggering crew—
But at this word the captain grew
In choler.

He lookt full grim, and at first word
Rapt out an oath that shook the board,
And struck his fist, that the sound roar'd
Like thunder.

It made all skip that stood him near,
The frighted custard quaked for fear;
And those that heard it stricken were
With wonder.

Nought did he now but frown and puff,
And having stared and swore enough,
Thus he began, in language rough:—
"Thou cogging,

Base, foysting lawyer, that dost set
Thy mind on nothing, but to get
Thy living by thy cursed pet-
tifogging.

A slave, that shall for half-a-crown,
With buckram bag and daggled gown,
Wait like my dog about the town,
And follow

A business of the devil's part
For fees, though not with law nor art;
Thy head as empty as thy heart
Is hollow.

You stay at home and pocket fees,
While we abroad, our blood do leese,
And then, with such base terms as these,
You wrong us.

But, lawyer, it is safer far
For thee to prattle at the barre,
Than once to show thy face i' th' war
Among us.

Were 't not for us, thou swad," quoth he,
" Where would'st thou fag to get a fee?
But to defend such things as thee,
'Tis pity.

For such as thou esteem us least,
Who ever have been ready prest
To guard you and the cuckowes nest,
Your city."

That very word made Ellis start,
And all his blood ran to his heart;
He shook and quak'd in every part
With anger.

He look't as if nought might asswage
The heat of his enflamed rage;
His very countenance did presage
Some danger.

" A cuckowes nest?" quoth he, and so
He hum'd and held his head full low,
As if distracted thoughts did o-
verpress him.

" At length," quoth he, " my mother said,
At Bristow she was brought abed;
And there was Ellis born and bred
(God bless him).

Of London City I am free,
And there I first my wife did see;
And for that very cause," quoth he,
" I love it.

And he that calls it cuckowe's nest,
Except he says he speaks in jest,
He is a villain and a beast,
I'le prove it.

For we have soldiers of our own,
Able enough to guard the town,
And captains of most fair renown
About it.

If any foe should fight amain,
And set on us with all his train,
Wee'll make him to retire again,
Ne'er doubt it.

We have fought well in dangers past,
And will do while our lives do last,
Without the help of any cast
Commanders

That hither come, compell'd by want,
With rusty swords and suits provant,
From Utrich, Nemingen, or Gant,
In Flanders."

The Captain could no longer hold,
But looking fiercely, plainly told
The Citizen he was too bold,
And call'd him

Proud boy; and for his sawsy speech,
Did shortly vow with whip to teach—
Then Ellis snacht a pot with which
He mall'd him.

He threw the jug, and therewithall,
He gave the Captain such a mall
As made his head against the wall
Sound hollow.

With that the Captain took a dish
That stood brim-full of butter'd fish,
As good as any mouth could wish
To swallow.

And as he threw his foot did slide,
Which turned his arm and dish aside,
And all be-butter-fishifide
Nic Ballat.

And he, good man, did none disease,
But, sitting quiet and at ease,
With butter'd rochets sought to please
His pallat.

But when he felt the wrong he had,
He raged and swore, and grew stark mad,
Some in the room been better had
Without him.

For he took hold of any thing—
And first he caught the poll of ling,
Which he couragiously did fling
About him.

Out of his hand it flew apace,
And hit the Lawyer in the face,
Who, at the board in highest place,
Was seated.

And as the Lawyer thought to rise,
The salt was thrown into his eyes,
Which him of sight in wofull wise
Defeated.

The Preacher, now a frighten'd man,
Out of the room would faine have ran,
And very angerly began
To mutter.

Ill luck had he, for after that
One threw the parsnips, full of fat,
Which stuck like brooches in his hat,
With butter.

Out of the place he soon repairs,
And ran half headlong down the stairs,
And made complaint to Master Ayres
With crying.

Then up ran he to know the matter,
And found how they the things did scatter;
For here a trencher, there a platter
Were lying.

He thrust himself into the throng,
And used the virtue of his tongue;
But what could one man's word among
So many?

The candles all were shuffled out,
The victuals flew afresh about;
Was never such a combat fought
By any.

Now in the dark was all the coyle,
Some were all bloody in the broyle,
And some lay steep't in sallad oyle
And mustard.

The sight would make a man afeard;
Another had a butter'd beard;
Another's face was all besmear'd
With custard.

Others were dawb'd up to the knee
With butter'd fish and furmitee;
And some the men could scarcely see
That beat 'em.

Under the board Llewellin lay,
Being sore frighted with the fray;
And, as the weapons flew that way,
He eat 'em.

The Captain ran the rest among,
As eager to revenge the wrong
Done by the pot which Ellis flung
So stoutly.

And angry Ellis sought about
To find the furious Captain out;
At length they met, and then they fought
Devoutly.

Now being met they never lin,
Till with their loud robustious din
The room, and all that was therein,
Did rumble.

Instead of weapons made of steele,
The Captain took a salted eele,
And at each blow made Ellis reele
And tumble.

Now Lockwood hearing, needs would see
What all this coyl and stir might be,
And up the stairs his fat and he
Went wadling.

But when he came the chamber neer,
Behind the door he stood to hear;
But in he durst not come for fear
Of swadling.

There stood he in a frightful case,
And as by chance he stir'd his face,
Full in his mouth a butter'd playce
Assail'd him.

Away he sneak't, and with his tongue
He lick'd and swallow'd up the wrong;
And as he went the room along
Bewail'd him.

Now, like the candles, shall my pen
Shew you these gallants once agen,
Who, like to furies, not like men,
Appeared.

Fresh lights being brought t' appease the brawl,
Shewed twenty madmen in the hall,
With blood and sauce their faces all
Besmeared.

They were, indeed, disfigured so,
Friend knew not friend nor foe-man foe;
And each man scarce himself did know.
But after

A frantic staring round about,
They suddenly did quit their doubt,
And loudly all at once brake out
In laughter.

The heat of all is now alaid,
The keepers gently do perswade;
And (as before) all friends are made
Full kindly.

Ellis the Captain doth embrace;
The Captain doth return the grace,
And so do all men in the place
As friendly.

But hunger now did vex 'em more
Than all their anger did before:
They search'd the room in which their store
Was scatter'd

One finds some ling in dirty case—
A herring in another place,
And mustard on his fellow's face
Be-spatter'd.

Thus, what they found contented some,
At length the keeper brings a broom,
Meaning therewith to cleanse the room
With sweeping.

But under table, on the ground,
Looking to sweep, by chance he found
Llewellin, faining to be sound-
ly sleeping.

He pull'd him out so swift by the heels,
As if his body ran on wheels,
And found his pockets stuft with eeles
And pippins.

Somewhat they held of every thing—
Smelts, flounders, rochets, and of ling—
A large provision this did bring
With drippings.

At this discovery, each man round
Took equal share of what was found,
Which afterwards they freely drown'd
In good drink.

For of good beer there was good store,
Till all were glad to give it o'er;
For each man had enough and more
That would drink.

And when they thus had drunk and fed
(As if no quarrel had been bred),
They all shook hands and all to bed
Did shuffle.

Ellis, the glory of this town,
With the brave Captain of renown;
And thus I end this famous coun-
ter scuffle.

NOTE, page 214.

On the death of Sir John Bankes his papers, which, together with other of his effects, remained in the hands of his son-in-law, Sir Robert Jenkinson, appear to have been divided. Those of a public nature are said to have gone for the most part to

Serjeant Maynard; some, and with these the best portrait of the Chief Justice, remained in possession of the Jenkinson family. His letters and other private papers were delivered to his son, amongst which are found some of a date subsequent to Sir John's death, written by Lord Digby in the year 1645. A few extracts from these are inserted, as they afford an interesting picture of the condition of the Royalists after the battle of Naseby.

A LETTER from Lord DIGBY to Lord JERMYN, written August 5, 1645.

"My dear Lord,—The torrent of misfortunes which has overborne us of late, and brought us from so high unto so opposite a condition, is not soe insupportable to me in anything as when I think of the queen, unto whom I profess the sadness of my heart. O, my lord, had the queen, according to my frequent desires to you, prest but the king to keep his promise in following the counsels of those whose judgements he was once resolved to trust in things of greatest moment, wee never had been reduced to this; for the crown hath been absolutely given away to Prince Rupert's will in two instances, when the certainty of destroying the rebels (had the unanimous advice of the council been followed) was as demonstrative as any moral contingent thing could be, with the particulars whereof I had formerly intrusted Progers; and now Porter, who will relate unto you all the particulars of our present condition, it being his principal errand, although there are some other speculations wherein he may possibly be useful to the king's service. Out of the account which he will give you of our affairs, you will find that without a miracle, of which God hath wrought many in this cause, there is now no more to be hoped for, but a languishing defence this year, with expectation of certain ruin the next, but by one of these four ways: either by foreign assistance, which I think is very improbable; or by vigorous aids from Ireland, whereof I cannot see yet any great likelihood; or from the Marquis of Montrose, whose suc-

cesses, especially in this last great battle, on the 2nd of July, cause one to expect more wonders from him, the rebels in Scotland having not any body of men in the field to make head against him; or, lastly, by gaining the Scott's army now here in Wales unto us, whereby a union being settled between all parties in Scotland, that kingdom would be so as with the help of their army and of the king's party, they would not probably fail of redeeming this kingdom."

Another letter, dated Hereford, September 7, 1645, is addressed to the Prince of Wales.

"May it please y^r^ Highnesse,—Whilst the condition of his Ma^tie^ affaires continued soe comfortlesse as they had been since the battle of Nasby, I have not had the hart to entertaine your highnesse concerning them; but now that it hath pleased God by such myraculous successes of late, both here and in Scotland, to revive again our confidence that he will yet bless his Ma^ty^ and yo^r^ highness with a happy issue of all yo^r^ misfortunes, I conceive that it will not be unacceptable to yo^r^ highn^ss^ that I presume to direct this account unto your highness' owne hands.

"If my severall letters to my Lo. Culpepper and the Chancellor of the Exchequ^r^ during our late progresse have not miscarried, yo^r^ highnesse will have understood from what great hazards his Ma^ty^ made a late retreat with his horse out of Wales toward the northern parts: how, by a strange march of the Scott's horse, by which they got betwixt him and Scotland, and joyn'd themselves to all the rebells' northern forces, hee was debarr'd from any further progress that way; how, thereupon, he was forced to retreate to Newarke; how from thence he marcht to Huntingdon, took that place with store of arms with 150 of their new-raised troops out of the associated countyes, having quite broken these new levyes of theirs; and lastly, yo^r^ highn^s^ will have understood how from Huntingdon hee came round to Bedford, theynce to Oxford.

"But in all the relations w^ch^ I gave them of this our progress, I must confess I never acquainted any of them with our main design aymed at as soon as ever wee wer forced to retreat

towards Newarke, as fearing, indeed, that it might be thought too chimericall, which was in case the Scots' horse should eyther slacken their pursuit of us or overshoot us, to endeavour, by a swift and unexpected march, to get over Severn, and, making good the passes, to fall upon the Scotch foote at Hereford, and relieve that place before their horse could rejoyne them, which, by God's blessing, hath succeeded beyond all expectation; for the Scotts' horse demurring, we knew not then why, at Nottingham, and Rossiter being gone into Lincolnshire, wee took the risk of opportunity, and in two dayes march from Oxon arrived on Sunday night at Worcester, with such terror to the Scotts' army, that instantly they raised the seige and marched away towards Gloucester, having left before Hereford, by their own confession, above 1500 men; and his Ma^ty^ is now in this place at a solemn thanksgiving for the succesee, and encouraging all others by his favour to this citty to follow their example, in such eminent expressions of loyalty than which there was never any thing more happy or seasonable; for had this seige continued but one weeke longer, the generallity of Wales had certainly revolted to the Parliament."

Lord Digby became Earl of Bristol at the Restoration. "He was (says Burnet) a man of courage and learning, of a bold temper and a lively wit, but of no judgment nor steadiness. He was in the queen's interest during the war at Oxford, and he studied to drive things past the possibility of a treaty or any reconciliation: he thought all discourses of a treaty made them feeble and fearful. When he went beyond sea he turned Papist; but it was after a way of his own, for he loved to magnify the difference between the Church and the Court of Rome. He was esteemed a very good speaker; but he was too copious and too florid. He was set at the head of the Popish party, and was a violent enemy of the Earl of Clarendon."—*Burnet*, 1, 101.

NOTE, page 242.

In the year 1648, the young Duke of Buckingham and his brother, the Lord Francis Villiers, were newly returned from travel. They had, from the circumstance of their youth, been unengaged in the late war, and so unhurt by it; but with the prospect of coming soon into the possession of large estates they thought themselves obliged to venture these for the crown upon the first opportunity, and fell easily into the friendship of the Earl of Holland, who, with the connivance of his brother, the Earl of Warwick, was forming designs in favour of the king. The earl had made tender of his services to his old mistress, the queen, at Paris; and the Lord Jermyn and he renewed their former friendship, the warmth whereof had never been extinguished.

So a commission was sent from the prince to the earl to be general of an army that was to be raised for the redemption of the king from prison, and to restore the Parliament to its freedom. The Earl of Peterborough and John Mordaunt, his brother, the family of the Earl of Northampton, and all the officers who had served the king in the war, with which the city and all parts of the kingdom abounded, applied themselves to the Earl of Holland, and received commissions from him for several commands.

Never undertaking of that nature was carried on with so little reservation. There was scarce a county in England in which there was not some association entered into to appear in arms for the king. Cromwell, to whom all these machinations were known, chose rather to run the hazard of all that such a loose combination could produce, than by seizing upon persons to engage the Parliament in examinations, the inconvenience of which he apprehended more. When the Earl of Norwich and the Lord Capel, with the Kentish and Essex troops, were enclosed in Colchester, the Earl of Holland thought it necessary, since many who were in Colchester had engaged themselves upon his promises and authority, now to

begin his enterprise, to which the youth and warmth of the Duke of Buckingham, who was general of the horse, the Lord Francis Villiers, and other young noblemen, spurred him on; and this purpose of the earl and his young recruits was so far from being a secret, that it was the common discourse of the town. There was a great appearance every morning at his lodgings of those officers who were known to have served the king.

His first rendezvous was at Kingston-upon-Thames, where he stayed two nights and one whole day; and during his sojourn there, some officers and soldiers, both of horse and foot, came thither, and many persons of honour and quality in their coaches came to visit him; and his company from London, and returned thither again to provide what was still wanting, and resolved to be with him soon enough.

The discipline of the Earl of Holland's party was so little attended to, that the second or third morning after their coming to Kingston some of the Parliament's foot, with two or three troops of Colonel Rich's horse, fell upon a party of the earl's about Nonsuch, and beat and pursued them into Kingston, before those within had notice to be ready to receive them. In this confusion the Lord Francis Villiers, a youth of rare beauty and comeliness of person, endeavouring to make resistance, was unfortunately killed, with one or two more but of little note. Most of the foot made a shift to conceal themselves, and some officers, until they found means to retire to their close mansions in London. The earl, with near a hundred horse (the rest wisely taking the way to London, where they were never inquired after) wandered without purpose or design, and was, two or three days after, beset in an inn at St. Neot's, in Huntingdonshire, where the earl delivered himself prisoner to the officer without resistance. The Duke of Buckingham escaped, and found a way to London, whence he passed to Holland, and was there received by the prince with great grace and kindness.

The Earl of Holland was, by order of the Parliament, sent

prisoner to Warwick Castle, of which he bore the title of constable at this time, where he was kept prisoner with great strictness until he was removed to London, and tried soon after the execution of the king, by a new High Court of Justice which was appointed to sit for the trial of Duke Hamilton as Earl of Cambridge, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen. Of these Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel, were executed on a scaffold erected in front of Westminster Hall on the 9th of March, 1649.

The following are the most striking passages of the last speech of the gallant Lord Capel:—

"Behold here an Englishman now before you, and acknowledged a peer, not condemned to die by any law of England; nay, shall I tell you more (which is strangest of all), contrary to all the laws of England that I know of.

"And now, gentlemen, I will take this opportunity to tell you, that I cannot imitate a better or a greater ingenuity than his that said of himself, 'For suffering an unjust judgment upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust judgment.' Truly, gentlemen, that God may be glorified, that all men that are concerned in it may take the occasion of it, of humble repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here profess to you that truly I did give my vote to that Bill of the Earl of Strafford. I doubt not but God Almighty hath washed that away with a more precious blood, and that is with the blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ; and I hope He will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it. Truly, this I may say, I had not the least part nor the least degree of malice in doing of it; but I must confess again to God's glory, and the accusation of mine own frailty, and the frailty of my nature, that truly it was an unworthy cowardice not to resist so great a torrent as carried that business at that time. And truly this, I think, I am most guilty of, not courage enough in it, but malice I had none. And truly I do, from my soul, wish that all men that have any stain by it, may

seriously repent and receive a remission and pardon of God for it."

Note, page 246.

"The Earl of Clarendon, upon the Restoration, made it his business to depress everybody's merits to advance his own, and (the king having gratified his vanity with high titles) found it necessary, towards making a fortune in proportion, to apply himself to other means than what the crown could afford; and the people who had suffered most in the civil war were in no condition to purchase his favour.

"He therefore undertook the protection of those who had plundered and sequestered the others, which he very artfully contrived, by making the king believe it was necessary, for his own ease and quiet, to make his enemies his friends; upon which he brought in most of those who had been the main instruments and promoters of the late troubles, who were not wanting in their acknowledgments in the manner he expected, which produced the great house in the Picadille, furnished chiefly with cavaliers' goods, brought thither for peace-offerings, which the right owners durst not claim when they were in his possession."—*Earl of Dartmouth's note on Burnet's History.*

Evelyn, in his diary, says, "The Lord Chancellor made few friends during his grandeur, but advanced the old rebels."—Vol. i. p. 387.

"At the Restoration, among other enemies, Clarendon found that the Royalists were none of the least active: he was reproached by them for preferring those who had been the cause of their late troubles. This is one of the parallel cases which so frequently strike us in exploring political history; and the ultras of Louis XVIII. were only the Royalists of Charles II.

"We have in the State Poems an unsparing lampoon, entitled 'Clarendon's House-Warming;' but a satire yielding nothing to it in severity I have discovered in manuscript; and

it is also remarkable for turning chiefly on a pun of the family name of the Earl of Clarendon:—

'When Queen Dido landed, she bought as much ground
As the Hyde of a lusty, fat bull would surround;
But when the said Hyde was cut into thongs,
A city and kingdom to Hyde belongs:
So here in court, church, and country, far and wide,
There's nought to be seen but Hyde! Hyde! Hyde!
Of old, and where law the kingdom divides,
'T was our Hydes of land, 't is now land of Hydes.'

"Clarendon House was built on the site of Grafton Street; and when afterwards purchased by Monk, the Duke of Albemarle, he left his title to that well-known street. Clarendon reproaches himself in his writings for his weakness and vanity in the vast expense incurred in this building, which he acknowledges had more contributed to that gust of envy that had so violently shaken him, than any misdemeanour that he was thought to be guilty of. It ruined his estate; but he had been encouraged to it by the royal grant of the land, by that passion for building to which he owns he was naturally too much inclined, and perhaps, amongst other circumstances, by the opportunity of purchasing the stones which were designed for the rebuilding of St. Paul's; but the envy it drew on him, and the excess of the architect's proposed expense, had made his life 'very uneasy and near insupportable.' The truth is, that when the palace was finished it was imputed to him as a state crime: it was popularly called either Dunkirk House or Tangier Hall, from a notion that it had been erected with the golden bribery which the Chancellor had received for the sale of Dunkirk and Tangiers. He was also reproached with having profaned the sacred stones dedicated to the use of the Church. In 1683 Clarendon House met its fate, and was abandoned to the brokers, who had purchased it for its materials."—*Disraeli's Curiosities of Literature.*

NOTE, page 261.

The keys of the castle remained in the hands which deserved to retain such a trophy; and they are now, together with the official seal, which was accorded to the castle and borough by the charter of Queen Elizabeth, in safe preservation at Kingston Lacy.

Amongst the numerous portraits in the collection there, the following are by Vandyck :—

King CHARLES I.

Queen HENRIETTA MARIA.

The Prince of WALES,
Afterwards Charles II.

The Duke of YORK,
Afterwards James II.

The Princess MARY,
Afterwards Princess of Orange.

Prince RUPERT and Prince MAURICE.

WESTON Earl of PORTLAND,
Lord High Treasurer.

Sir JOHN BORELACE, Bart.,
M.P. for Corfe Castle in 1641,

Lady BORELACE,
Eldest daughter of Sir John Bankes.

RALPH HAWTREY, of Rislip, Middlesex, and
His LADY.
These were the parents of Lady Bankes. Painted by Cornelius Jansen.

Mr. ALTHAM,
Father of Mrs. Hawtrey. By Salvator Rosa.

And by other hands are portraits of,—

JAMES, the first Duke of Ormond.

EDWARD HYDE Earl of Clarendon.

Sir JOHN BANKES,
Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

The only original portrait of Lady Bankes is a miniature by J. Hoskins. This was copied in enamel by the admirable

artist, Boné, and inserted in the collection which he formed shortly before his death, of portraits of eminent persons who lived in the time of Charles I.

The paintings in this collection, which relate to the time of Charles II., are for the most part by the hand of Sir Peter Lely, amongst which are,—

Sir RALPH BANKES,
M.P. for Corfe Castle in 1660.

Mr. STAFFORD,
A Royalist, who took part with the Earl of Holland in the attempt to deliver Charles I. in 1648.

Mr. BRUNE, of Athelhampton and Plumber.

Lady JENKINSON,
Wife of Sir Robert Jenkinson.

Lady CULLEN,

Mrs. GILLIES,
Who were daughters of Sir John Bankes.

With these is a portrait of Mrs. Middleton, which, in regard to personal attractions, must undoubtedly claim the first place. A duplicate of this painting is at Hampton Court, in the collection of Charles II.'s beauties. Sir Joshua Reynolds greatly extolled the merits of these works of Sir Peter Lely; they were early specimens of his admirable powers. Reynolds probably accompanied his friend Dr. Johnson in the visit to Kingston Lacy which is recorded by Boswell in the first volume of his Life of Johnson. At that period a very polite old bachelor was the owner, and did the honours of the mansion; he was much distressed at seeing the odd contortions which the limbs of the great lexicographer exhibited, and, conceiving that the Doctor was afraid of tumbling through the floor, he very politely gave him the assurance that, although the house was indeed an ancient house, the timbers were perfectly sound.

THE END.

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